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A REVIEW (QUARTERLY).

EDITED BY

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EARLY ARABIAN PAPER MAKING.

HE date of the invention of paper, in the form in which it is used by the nations of the West, is almost as interesting a question as that of the invention of printing; for the former may almost be regarded as the necessary condition of the latter. It is certain, at all events, that neither the Eastern nor the Western nations invented printing until they had been in possession of paper for a long time.

The usual account of the introduction of paper into Europe is that it was communicated by the Arabs, who had received it from the Chinese. Broadly taken, this statement is correct; but it has until recently been associated with many errors of detail, both as regards the date and circumstances of the event, and the material and manufacture of primitive paper. The honour of dispelling these belongs to an Austrian scholar, Professor Joseph Karabacek, who has had special opportunities of investigating the question, from his thorough acquaintance with the magnificent collection of Egyptian documents drawn from the Fayoum by

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Archduke Rainer, a large proportion of which belong to the period of Saracen domination in Egypt; and his knowledge of early Arabian writers. His conclusions were published in an essay, 'Das Arabische Papier,' in the 'Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer,' Bde. ii., iii., 1887. A supplemental essay was added in 1897. It seems worth while to republish the substance of Professor Karabacek's articles in this country, as the only *resumé* that we have seen, that in the article on Paper in 'Chambers' Cyclopaedia,' necessarily omits many subsidiary details, and inaccurately speaks of an Arabian invasion of China, which never took place. Sir E. Maunde Thompson refers to Karabacek's essay in his 'Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography,' second edition, 1894, p. 44; but as he is writing on palaeography, and not upon history, merely for the manufacturing process. It will be understood that there is no originality in the summary which we are about to offer; we simply reproduce the results of the literary investigations of Professor Karabacek, and the scientific investigations of Professor Wiesener, which may be accepted with the more confidence as no one has attempted to controvert them.

The usual statement respecting the first acquaintance of the Arabs with paper-making is that they learned the art from Chinese prisoners of war upon the capture of Samarcand, A.D. 704. But there is no proof of its having been known to them at this period, and we shall shortly find evidence that it did not come to their knowledge for nearly half a century afterwards. Neither is the date of

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the conquest of Samarcand quite correctly given. We learn from the historian Taalibi that their first connection with this city was in 676, when they obtained a treaty according them the right of passage through it, but leaving it virtually independent until 712, when it was definitively subjugated. The submissive population, however, could not properly be described as "prisoners of war," nor is the conquest of the city connected with the introduction of paper by any Arabian historian. The event which really introduced paper to the Arabs, and through them to Europe, was the repulse of a Chinese invasion in A.D. 751. Two neighbouring princes, the chiefs of Fergana and Tashkend, having gone to war, the weaker party sought the intervention of China, which despatched an army to the scene of operations. The Arab governor of Samarcand, Zijad ibn Saleh, marched against this host, defeated it in the battle of Athlach, near Tashkend, and drove it back into China. Among his prisoners of war were persons acquainted with the art of paper-making, which was speedily commenced at Samarcand under their instruction, although, as will appear, with a notable difference as regards the material employed.

Such is the account of Taalibi, accredited by its author and simple and probable in itself. It is further undesignedly confirmed by a statement in the 'Fihrist,' an historical work of great authority, where it is said that according to some paper was invented under the Ommiade, but according to others under the Abbasside caliphs. This uncertainty might well exist, for the Ommiade dynasty

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gave place to the Abbasside in 750, the year before the defeat of the Chinese. It seems established, then, that the Arab manufacture of paper, the mother of the European, commenced at a date almost exactly as far in advance of the Christian era as the foundation of Rome was behind it :

‘Peace hath her victories,
Not less renowned than war.’

We have spoken of the Arab manufacture, as the work was undoubtedly commenced under Arab auspices, but, after the foundation had been laid by the involuntary Chinese teachers, the first workmen were probably Persians, since these would form the *élite* of the artisan class ; and the word denoting paper, *Kaghad*, is Persian. Professor Karabacek, however, does not believe it to be indigenous to the language, the only derivation offered, from a word signifying *to rustle*, being clearly unsatisfactory. He thinks it will prove to have been borrowed from the Chinese. Perhaps it is Turkish.

The Samarcand manufacture of paper is singularly interesting, not merely as the introduction of an art new to the West, but as the invention of a material for paper new to the world. It is on this point that the historians of paper have until recently been most in error. It being believed that the Chinese used cotton in the manufacture of paper, and the industry being confessedly derived from them by the Arabs, it has been assumed that the Arab paper was made from cotton, and that the manufacture from linen rags was a European invention of the twelfth century. These views have been exploded

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by the scientific researches of Professor Julius Wiesener, undertaken at the instance of Professor Karabacek, and published under the title 'Die Fajumer und Uschmûnene Papiere' in the Rainer 'Mittheilungen,' Bd. 2, 1887. Professor Wiesener finds that the Arab-Egyptian papers submitted to him hardly ever contain any cotton fibre, but are substantially linen, frequently exhibiting traces of rag, hemp, and twine. Upon more accurate investigation of the historical sources it further appears that the Oriental authorities never speak of paper as manufactured from cotton until we arrive at Joseph Casiri, a writer of the eighteenth century. There can be no doubt that the Arabs and their Persian assistants, finding that although they had got the Chinese art they had not got the Chinese materials, resorted to flax, which grows abundantly in Khorassan, and made their paper from the fibres of the plant, and afterwards from rags, supplemented, as the demand increased, with any vegetable fibre capable of serving the purpose. They, therefore, and not the Europeans, are entitled to the honour of this great and salutary revolution in the paper manufacture. Professor Wiesener's researches have rectified another error, which has reference to the sizing of the paper. This, in Oriental papers, is always vegetable, never, as in ours, mineral. It has been said to be gum tragacanth, but proves to be nothing else than starch paste. The sheet is usually found to consist of two thin sheets pasted together, the inside of each rough and unfinished, the outside smooth and fit for use. Finally, the invention of wired frames in the manufacture, which has

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always been considered European, is proved to be Oriental by the occurrence of straight-ribbed markings.

The successful development of linen paper at the expense of the papyrus, which had for so many centuries almost monopolized the markets of the civilized world, is a subject of much interest, and the data for it are fortunately ample. It does not appear to have been very rapid at first. The Coptic population of Egypt would naturally prefer the material to which they had been accustomed, and there was but little writing among the Saracens until the great intellectual outburst in the latter part of the eighth century. The small demand for official documents was, says an historian, abundantly met by parchment. A disposition to challenge papyrus is, however, evinced by the circumstance that the oldest kind of paper made at Samarcand was entitled 'Pharaoh' paper, and the descriptions which succeeded took the names of ministers and governors, indicating official patronage. One of these, El Fadhl the Barmecide, brother of Haroun-al-Raschid's famous vizier Giafar, is the person whose name is above all others to be connected with the growth of the paper manufacture. According to Makrizi, he induced his brother to substitute paper for papyrus as the material for all official documents. This incident is in all probability to be dated from his administration of Khorassan, the province adjoining Samarcand, and the principal seat of the paper manufacture, where he was governor in A.D. 794-795. This agrees with the observation of Karabacek that the oldest docu-

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ments on paper in the Rayner collection cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 800. That papyrus was still maintaining its ground a generation later may be inferred from the endeavour of the Caliph Motassem to transplant it to the Euphrates, A.D. 836; but about 860 it seems to have almost entirely collapsed in Egypt as a material for writing paper; and the inability of the makers to sustain the competition of linen paper led to such a degeneracy in the manufacture that papyrus was henceforth only used for packages and other ordinary purposes. Such documents of this period as we possess are usually opisthographic, *i.e.*, written on the reverse side of ancient papyrus scrolls of good quality, originally left blank. A letter written on papyrus in the tenth century has the postscript, 'Excuse the paper,' showing that the writer would have used linen paper if he had had it at hand. The fine bull of Pope John VIII., however, conferring privileges on the abbey of Tournus, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is written on Egyptian papyrus of good quality, showing that this material, perhaps a remainder from a former consignment, was still to be had by the Papal Chancery in 876. A few years later, the document, if upon papyrus at all, would probably have been upon the papyrus of Sicily. Palermo was conquered by the Saracens in 831, and Syracuse in 877. In both places they introduced the papyrus plant, which still grows luxuriantly in the river Anapo, near Syracuse, centuries after it has disappeared from Egypt and retreated into Ethiopia for more than a thousand miles. Respecting the papyrus of Palermo, the Arabian traveller and

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geographer Ibn Haukal informs us that about A.D. 960 it was grown in an extensive marsh adjoining the city, that the produce was chiefly employed for rigging ships, as King Antigonus is recorded to have used it in the Macedonian period, but that a portion was expressly reserved to make writing paper for the Emir. It was, therefore, neither exclusively used nor entirely disused for literary purposes. In the opinion of Karabacek, most of the papyrus documents of Europe belonging to this period are upon the papyrus of Sicily, which is still manufactured at Syracuse as an article of curiosity, and may be seen side by side with the Egyptian in the British Museum. The marsh mentioned by Ibn Haukal existed till the latter part of the sixteenth century; we are not told whether it continued to produce papyrus.

Ibn Haukal, who gives a full account of Egypt, makes no mention of the papyrus. It may therefore be inferred that it had ceased to be extensively cultivated by the middle of the tenth century, while it continued to be grown on a small scale as a material for coarse packing paper, and, extraordinary to relate, an ingredient in the pharmacopoeia. This was quite a new discovery of the Arab physicians, who unhappily considered that if the new papyrus was good for this purpose, the old was even better. Ancient papyrus scrolls were consequently sought for to be sold to the druggists, and none can tell of how much of the wisdom of Egypt and the literature of Greece we may have been deprived by this absurd hallucination. If Aesculapius was the son of Apollo, he was a most

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unnatural one! Papyrus is actually recorded to have been used for adulterating civet! It is mentioned as still growing in Egypt by the botanist El Nabati, A.D. 1216, and probably disappeared from the country about a century afterwards. Its inability to maintain itself without artificial cultivation suggests that it was not originally indigenous, but was introduced from Ethiopia by the Egyptians. It would be extremely interesting could we learn whether paper-making was in view from the first, or whether this was a later development.

We need not follow Professor Karabacek into his highly interesting chronological survey of the principal seats of the early paper manufacture in the East and in Europe. It is remarkable to find it flourishing in the remote province of Yemen in the tenth century. The question of the date of its introduction into India seems worthy of investigation. Linen paper is said to have been introduced from Samarcand into China in the tenth century, but does not seem to have maintained its ground. In 1897 Professor Karabacek published in the 'Mittheilungen' a supplementary article, giving an account of the chapter on the manufacture of paper in the 'Umdet el Kuttab,' an Arabic treatise probably written in the eleventh century, but which received additions to the end of the twelfth, with which he had in the interim become acquainted. The only material for paper mentioned in this treatise is hemp, but the precise instructions given for its manufacture entirely confirm the conclusions of Professor Wiesener.

It would appear then, that, while the glory of

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the invention of paper, as well as the still greater glory of the invention of printing, belongs to China, that of the introduction of paper to the Western world, and of the discovery of a material which greatly improved and extended the manufacture, belongs to the Arabs and their Persian allies. Europe improved the quality of the product, but contributed little to the process of manufacture until machinery was called into requisition. It may be doubted whether the higher credit be due to the ingenious man who first thought of the flax of Khorassan as a substitute for Chinese material; or to him who first augmented this source of supply by recourse to rags, one of the most notable instances on record of the multiplication of national wealth by giving value to an article formerly almost useless. It might be invidious to inquire whether the manufacture was in any degree promoted by the oppressiveness of Moslem rule in Egypt. About 1769 attempts were made to extend the manufacture of paper in Ireland, which an Irish journalist of the day, unconscious of the implied sarcasm upon his country, thought must certainly succeed *by reason of the abundance of the raw material*. It would thus appear that the beggary of a country may conduce to the prosperity of one of its manufactures; and indeed, *paper* and *pauper* differ only by one letter. 'God bless and keep Sultan Mahmoud!' said the owl: 'as long as he is on the throne we shall never want for ruined cities.'

R. GARNETT.

BOYS' LIBRARIES.

IT is now generally recognized that education belongs to leisure. The Greeks, who invented the word 'school,' knew it, but the fact had been forgotten until the pressure of competitive examinations forced it once more upon the notice of reluctant pedagogues. What a boy learns in a class-room may have various uses; it may help to lay the foundation of a successful business career—based as most business careers are upon the ability to confuse the laws of arithmetic at the right moment—or it may put him in the way of slaying the enemies of England, or of governing his dusky foster-brothers of the East; but this is not education, it has nothing to do with the soul, and very little with the body, and education aims at the development of these two and at nothing else. The facts are horribly complicated, because the wisdom of those who select officers for the army and navy and officials for the civil service, and of all sorts of other examining bodies, leads them to desire to choose educated boys; consequently it may happen that a boy who is nominally only cramming for an army examination is accidentally getting educated at the same time, whereas by rights he ought to be doing nothing of the sort. This, however, in the present state of

competitive examinations cannot be helped, and though it may complicate practice, it should not discredit theory. Leisure, then, being defined as that part of time which can be appropriated to education, it becomes clearly of supreme importance that leisure should be properly employed. 'Books, and work, and healthful play;' thus did Dr. Watts summarize and classify the employments of a man's 'best years.' By 'work' he may be presumed to have meant what we should call business—including preparation for examinations: 'books' and 'healthful play' are the objects of leisure, the means of education. Let us then consider Books. Books in Charles Lamb's sense, none of your *biblia abiblia*, that nobody would read unless he were obliged, though the educational publisher trick out his Caesars with thumbnail sketches of French scenery, and his Shakespeares with full-page illustrations as dramatic as Doré. School books we give our boys to read, order them to read them, and, very properly, smack them if they don't; what are the books that we should offer them to read when they want to read, when they come to us and say—not, perhaps, in so many words—'My soul is clamouring for victuals, and my imagination desires a banquet?' Mr. Auberon Herbert would probably say, 'Let 'em find out'; but besides the consequences in psychical indigestions and the litter of unsuccessful experiments that such a course would entail, it is absurd to expect a grown man, and especially a schoolmaster, to refrain from giving advice when he has actually been asked for it, and asked in circumstances which encourage in a particular degree

the eternal springing hope that it may be followed.

The schoolmaster responds with the Boys' Library. Now there are several ways of making a Boys' Library. One is to choose all the books you would like yourself and keep them in your own custody. This is good for the books. Another is to let the boys choose all the books—in which case you would probably rather not have the housing of them. This is bad for the boys. A third is to start the library with thirty bound volumes of Punch, with Shakespeare, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Robinson Crusoe, Don Quixote, and Marie Corelli, and having thus hinted at catholicity of taste, to leave the further development in the hands of the boys, supporting their efforts by a liberal grant from the fines inflicted for coming down late in the morning or leaving boots in unwarrantable places. This introduces a new problem, the problem of finance, which, however, is irrelevant at this stage, and only serves to show that institutions apparently similar may differ in many particulars. As a matter of fact the financial problem is not serious; books are cheap, and you do not want to rival the British Museum.

To leave for the present the question how a Boys' Library should be formed, let us consider what kind of books it ought to contain: what it would contain if ideally managed. Now the first fact to remember is that it has got to be attractive to as many boys as possible; for it is even less possible to make a boy read a book that he doesn't want to than to make him play a game

that he doesn't want to. The latter is possible, but demoralizing in the long run, the former is not possible at all. The library has to compete with all the stuff that boys will read, if left to themselves, because the stuff promises interest, and gives so little trouble in the reading that they imagine themselves to have been interested when they have really been half asleep. I knew a boy—now an officer in His Majesty's army—who used to read every novel written by the late Mr. Henty. He had absolutely no brains, and it was probably the right thing for him to do. A library must cater for the duffer as well as for the boy of spirit; if intelligent boys are found eating duffers' food, a sensible parent or master will know how to discourage it. The real difficulty is that the young are liable to be taken in by shams, and shams must be excluded at the risk of unpopularity to the institution. One specimen of each kind of sham I would keep, gorgeously bound, and protected by the most awful kind of sacro-sanctity from destruction, and only allowed out in the most ceremonious way. With such conditions the library may even include 'Eric, or the World of School,' and specimens of the later work of Mr. Hall Caine and Miss Marie Corelli (unless, as 'Punch's' Monsieur Tropfort asserts, Mr. Hall Caine really wrote Marie Corelli too), and of the humour of Mr. Jerome. It is astonishing how much a strenuous official protection may do to procure indifference for what might attract if left to itself.

But the question how to make bad books unattractive is but the complement of the main

question, how to make good books attractive, and it is upon the answer to this latter that the success of a school library mainly depends. It must be admitted that with the boy who resolutely prefers a bad translation of Dumas to 'Treasure Island,' or 'Three Men in a Boat' to 'Pickwick,' there is not much to be done. After all, most boys have strange tastes at one time or another, and may be trusted to outgrow them; but for the boy with an open mind, for the waverer, much may be done by a well-arranged library. Arrangement is of the first importance. Let the reader know what he is going to get, whether by labelling compartments or by similar bindings, or by any clearly-expressed device. Classify your books plainly to the eye, and at any rate you deceive nobody. Under this heading of arrangement comes a principle of division which ought to obtain wherever possible, between the reference library and the circulating library. There are many books which a boy of fifteen or so would not be likely to want to take away with him, but which he might occasionally dip into in a spare hour if they were to hand, and be the better for it. I remember in particular that Kinglake's 'Crimean War,' and De Quincey's works, which were on the reference shelves of my house library at school, found readers in that position who would not have contemplated so lasting an attachment as 'taking out' a book implied. The reference library is the obvious place for nearly all poetry, except that it is equally true that nearly all poetry should be in the circulating library as well; for boys cannot be too much encouraged to

read poetry, and without much encouragement they will not do it. It is the place for big books—and boys ought to be familiarized with the outside, at least, of big books, even if they never go further; it is something to be aware that shilling editions do not represent the whole work of the human brain. The objection to a reference library is its expense, for it must be owned, in qualification of what was said above, that the books now contemplated are not cheap. On the other hand, the reference library may be very valuable without being large; if it contained nothing more than Boswell, Pepys, 'Cook's Voyages,' Whymper's 'Scrambles amongst the Alps,' Kinglake's 'Crimean War,' and a book on heraldry, it would still be worth having. But one stipulation must be made; whatever may be tolerated of necessity in poor print or paper in the circulating library, the reference books must be of the best form procurable. Here, at any rate, there must be no cheap type, no double columns, and no invertebrate bindings. It is almost as important for a book as for a picture that it shall be worth looking at.

The contents of the circulating library are easy enough to determine, up to a certain point. Fiction will be most in request, and you begin by putting into it all the classical English novels that you can lay your hands on in fairly solid octavo form; and since in a house of forty or fifty boys, and still more in a school of two hundred or three hundred, there are likely to be a few readers of French or German, or other foreign languages, a first-rate library would contain at least a few examples of fiction in those

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BOYS' LIBRARIES.

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languages. But I would have no translations—or at any rate no English translations, except those which are in themselves classic, like more than one of the translations of 'Don Quixote,' or Cary's Dante, or Urquhart's Rabelais (in Morley's edition, to be sure). An exception might be made in favour of Victor Hugo and Jules Verne, for Jules Verne's merits are not literary, and 'Les Misérables' ought to be read in any language rather than not at all.

There should be plenty of poetry; not that it will be much read, but because, as said above, any boy who will read poetry ought to find it at hand. The great poets should be there in full, as nearly as may be; after these, the choice should be guided by Platonic principles. Newbolt should be welcome; John Davidson and Stephen Phillips may be crowned with as much laurel as will please them, and conducted elsewhere. Of anthologies let us have as many as you will; it does not much matter whether they be good, bad or indifferent; a boy may be stimulated by mere curiosity to taste an anthology when he would not attack a whole author. Even the 'Elegant Extracts' of our grandfathers might find a place; at least they preserved from oblivion

'Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love,
But why did you kick me downstairs?'

Shakespeare should be there in at least three editions, none of them expurgated. If a boy will read what he had better not, he had better read it in Shakespeare than elsewhere. I would give him the Globe Shakespeare, in spite of its print and

IV.

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paper and double columns, and two sets in several volumes, such as that edited by Mr. Gollancz; not the Temple Shakespeare, for little books are out of place in a library such as ours. Natural history ought to be represented, either here or in the reference library, by such books as Bates' 'Naturalist on the Amazons'—to say nothing of White's 'Selborne'—but books merely made up out of natural history to sell need not be considered. Somewhere or other 'Elia' must find a place. No boy should grow up with an excuse for ignorance of Charles Lamb; but as a rule meditative and critical works will not find readers, and, in fact, whatever is included in the library besides fiction will be there rather by way of demonstrating its existence than as a likely bait for the appetite.

One serious problem will always be with us. 'Of the making of many books' we are told 'there is no end'; but of the space available for them there is. When that space is filled how is the library to go on growing? The right way to deal with this difficulty is to have, in theory at any rate, two classes of books: first the permanent, second the temporary. All books already recognized as classics will constitute the nucleus of the permanent part; all new books will begin as temporary residents upon the shelves, and after a period of probation will be either taken into the permanent division, or if the interest in them is not sufficiently keen, or their contents of merely ephemeral attractiveness, sold to the second-hand dealer. Perhaps it follows from this that a first-rate Boys' Library should subscribe to Mudie's; at

any rate where there are, as in most schools, a number of House Libraries, some modification of the Book Club system would be found useful and economical—so many books to be bought by a joint committee from all the libraries, and distributed for possession after they had been the round, each library having the first choice in rotation, and those books which nobody wanted to keep to be sold for the common chest. The chief objection to any scheme of this kind is that it would make a considerable demand upon the time of those who managed the business; and the time both of schoolboys and of their masters is apt to be pretty fully employed as it is.

Two other special features may be suggested. To balance the shelf of shams there might be a shelf of masterpieces. Telling boys what to admire is not a very wise or fruitful occupation; but if the housemaster has a literary standard, there is no reason why he should not hang it out; and if he were allowed, say, room for a dozen volumes, and his boys' committee room for another dozen on a shelf of honour, interest in the existence of such a thing as serious criticism would be stimulated without arousing a suspicion of being trifled with in the breast even of the Philistine. It is, perhaps, needless to say that unlike the shelf of shams, the shelf of honour should be the most accessible in the whole library, and the books procured in the form most convenient for reading.

The second suggestion concerns Translations of the Classics. Opinion and practice with regard to the use of translations in schoolwork has under-

gone a change. Where they used to be tabooed and the employment of them visited with punishment, they are now tolerated and even encouraged. But boys, if left to themselves, tend to use not the best translations, but the most literal; and the man who was brought up to look upon a 'Bohn' as a surreptitious and guilty thing finds his pupils wallowing in nameless abominations, beside which Anthon's 'Horace' is a masterpiece of scholarship, with the result that they neither learn how to translate Latin or Greek, nor how to frame a sentence of English. Now there is no reason why the boys' library—the reference library for choice—should not supply some, at any rate, of the best translations available of the classics, such, for instance, as Morshead's 'Agamemnon,' Munro's 'Lucretius,' and even Hobbes' 'Thucydides' and Greenway's 'Tacitus' might find a place beside the work of modern scholars. The boy who has to get up a book of Horace in a given time in order to qualify to be a dentist will not look at them, but the boy with a taste for scholarship may; and even as the working man complained that he could pass eleven public-houses, but was obliged to turn into the twelfth, so the mute appeal of a whole row of real books may reform the appetite of the most incorrigible crib-biter.

Much more might be said as to what boys like to read and what they ought to read, and how the two are to be made to coincide; but the central fact, not always remembered, is that boys are young human beings, and that the state of mind of a young human being is analogous to that

of a young race; young races have splendid memories, no reasoning powers, are all imagination and appetites, and, for the rest, are at the mercy of associations. Therefore, of books as of other friends, it is true that 'The company of the good is a training in virtue, while that of the bad is its destruction.'

R. F. CHOLMELEY.

AUCASSIN AND NICOLETE.



SOME bibliographer who wants a narrow plot of ground may take up the subject of 'Aucassin and Nicolette.' A new translation of this pretty, curious, and unique romance in alternate prose and rhyme, by Mr. Laurence Housman, has just been published by Mr. Murray. Mr. Housman and I differ in principle and practice as to translations, but that is not the question here.

In the absence of books I can only write from memory about this romance and its history. There is only one ancient MS. of the thirteenth century, I think. It has been edited, with a photographic reproduction, by Mr. F. W. Bourdillon. I know no printed edition earlier than the close of the eighteenth century, when Sédaine also composed a little opera on the subject of the tale, which is well adapted for a 'pastoral play.' Since the edition in the nineteenth century French Elzevir format, there have been several, both luxurious and scholarly, by French and German savants, chiefly occupied with questions of philology. In this country, Mr. Bourdillon and I, not knowing each others' designs, published translations almost or quite simultaneously. Mine, issued by Mr. Nutt, and decorated by Mr. Jacomb Hood, was, I

think, of 750 copies, on large and small Japanese paper, rubricated, and in the format of an uncut Elzevir duodecimo. There have been I know not how many American reprints, of which I have only seen one. The publisher has cut out the introduction, notes, and so forth, 'without the leave of me.' I daresay his brethren have taken similar liberties. There is also a small edition in black letter from a private English press, and a shilling edition by Mr. Nutt.

Of other English versions I know one from America in the style, more or less, of the Kelmscott Press, Mr. Gibb's, of which only fifty copies were printed privately; one which appeared last year, in quarto, with marginal decorations, and Mr. Housman's. For lack of books I cannot give more precise details, but the story, in the Old French, is used in some girls' schools in England.

All this activity has its source in Mr. Pater's charming essay on Aucassin and Nicolette, in his 'Studies of the Renaissance.' Nobody can hope to tell again so well the tale of Nicolette, daughter of the King of Carthage. She was sold to the Captain of Beaucaire as a captive, her birth unknown. Aucassin, the only son of Count Garin of Beaucaire, fell in a doting of love with her, and the poet throughout smiles at the excesses of his hero's passion. A difficult line seems to mean that the poet is old. Mr. Housman renders:

'Who would wish good verse to hear,
Made to please an old man's ear.'

I rather incline to think that the old man is

meant for the author himself, as ancient as the Last Minstrel, who 'May not, must not, sing of love,' but does so, after all, with a smiling, amused sort of sympathy. The tale, of course, does not run smooth; the hero's parents forbid the banns, Nicolette flies in danger of her life. Aucassin rejoins her, they wander into the burlesque kingdom of Torelore, are taken captive by Paynims, and Aucassin returns to Beaucaire, where he is now lord. Nicolette is carried to her Carthaginian kin, is recognized, but escapes in the disguise of a minstrel, and rejoins her lover. The whole is 'old and plain, and dallying with the innocence of love.' Many scenes, as of Nicolette's escape in the moonlight, her bower in the forest, her final meeting with her lover, are of recognized sweetness and beauty. The sympathy shown with the poor peasant who, while Aucassin has lost a lady, has a worse sorrow, the loss of his master's oxen, displays the mild wisdom of the old poet, and the King of Torelore, in the practice of the *couvade* (lying-in when his Queen is about to have a child), affords 'comic relief,' broadly obvious and Rabelaisian.

To myself, apart from its literary charm, its innocence and *naïveté*, the book is interesting for its form, unique in literature. After each passage of prose narrative, comes the rubric, 'Here singeth one,' and when the verse is ended, 'So say they, speak they, tell they the tale,' or, as Mr. Housman has it, 'Now they tell and narrate, and the tale goes on.'

This appears to be a very ancient and widely diffused method in savage and popular oral litera-

ture. Mr. Leland found it among the Red Indians, whose tales may be chanted; and in Tuscany the peasants would ask him whether he preferred to have a popular tale said or sung? In all European *märchen* or popular tales, snatches of verse occur, usually speeches made by the characters. Jamieson found alternate snatches of prose and verse in a tale collected in Lochaber and Morar. Motherwell printed a version of the very ancient 'Conte' of 'Young Beichan' (or Becket, or Bekie, or Lord Bateman) in alternate prose and verse. The same form is found in popular tales of the Australian blacks; the characters sing interludes in the midst of the prose story of their adventures. Dr. Steere met the same form in the tales of the Swahili, near Zanzibar. Mr. Dennett discovered the same practice among the tribes of the old kingdom of the Congo. The storyteller begins in prose, the crowd of listeners join in, and sing several of the sentences in chorus. The characters of the story sing their speeches, just as in Australia, and the crowd repeats the song in chorus 'till they are tired,' plaintive speeches are chorused in a pathetic measure, prayers are sung by all 'in a supplicating tone.'¹

These examples from Europe and from so many quarters of the world, seem to point to a time when ballad and popular tale (*volkslied und märchen*) were not yet discriminated and differentiated. The populace took a hand, or lent a voice, to the narrative. Therefore, among our huge store of European popular ballads, we often find the very same story as in our equally large treasure of popular tales

¹ Dennett, 'Folk Lore of the Niort,' pp. 24-34.

or *märchen*. We cannot tell whether the story in prose, or the story in verse, was prior in evolution. But it seems probable that the tale might be either sung or chanted, while it may be that, originally, song and story came in alternate snatches, as in this Cante-fable, or Song-story, of 'Aucassin and Nicolette.' This form survives, or did lately survive, in the diversions of the music halls, where we had portions spoken, alternating with portions sung. But 'Aucassin and Nicolette' is not a popular *märchen*. It neither follows the well-known lines of any *märchen*; nor does it introduce prodigies and talking beasts, witches, and ogres, and metamorphoses. It is a literary romance of the civilization of the period: a tale of Christian times, though Aucassin expresses very heterodox sentiments, preferring Hell in gallant company to Heaven with coarse, ragged old devotees.

On the whole, I conceive that some old minstrel, harping in castles and in village street corners, adapted to his ends the popular form of narrative in alternate song and story, which he found common among the peasantry. But he did not reconstruct one of their *Volkslied märchen*—popular story ballads. He invented his own tale, on the old *donnée* of the lost Royal child, and he invented his own characters, with sympathy, indeed, but with a half-mocking sympathy, as one who does not believe that 'Love is enough,' but rather that it is a fairyland of shining shadows, through which youth passes, enchanted, into a grayer and graver life, which is real. So one fancies him seated in courtly hall, or by a cottage fire, or harping at a

village street corner, in the long evening end; an observer of existence, a looker-on, for whom the great wars are over, a spectator of the jousts and tourneys of love; himself, perhaps, wounded long ago, but the wound has healed over, and the phantasies are past. He sees the lovers in moonlight or sunlight, in prison, or on grass-grown forest ways; their dwelling a tabernacle of woven flowers and wattled green branches. He has left us, unwittingly, a picture of himself, and of ancient days that were not always warlike. The rain never falls in his story, it is only at sea that the tyrannous winds are blowing: the shepherds sit in quiet, munching their bread by the blossomed banks of the river, in the meadow beyond the battlemented wall of the good town. The bells ring for Prime and Tierce and None: the birds are chanting in the forest hard by, where the stags harbour. There wilt thou see the good flowers and grass, and hear the sweet birds sing, and find a remedy for the sickness of love.

With all these excellences the romance is short, unlike the endless romances in which the Middle Ages took delight. We look into the little book as into a magic mirror, and have a glimpse of pictures wonderfully coloured and clear, fantastic and fleeting. So, even in English, the old minstrel's work has its friends, and Mr. Bourdillon has printed (1897) the sweet old French with the English on the opposite page, that readers, as in Chapman's version of the Sirens' Song in the *Odyssey*, may be

'Not only charmed, but instructed more.'

ANDREW LANG.

THE BOOKSELLERS OF LONDON BRIDGE.



IMUST preface this paper with a few words as to its origin. As some of my readers may know, Mr. G. J. Gray of Cambridge has taken great interest in this subject. Besides contributing notes upon it to the pages of 'Notes and Queries,' he read a paper before the Bibliographical Society, a year or two ago, on William Pickering, the earliest of the London Bridge booksellers, to which he added a very full bibliography.

Mr. Gray's interests have lately been drawn into other channels, and knowing that I had also taken some interest in this subject, he very kindly made me an offer of his collection of notes, which I gladly accepted. These, and a few researches of my own, are the groundwork of this sketch.

To begin with, I must ask my readers to take themselves back in imagination to the days when old London Bridge was covered with houses. Approaching from the northern side, the traveller passed on to the bridge between two rows of gabled timber-fronted houses, which we may well believe were similar in all respects to those which are still standing in Holborn. The roadway between was narrow, only from twelve to twenty feet in

width, without any sidewalks, and probably paved with rough uneven stones. The overhanging gables of the houses must have shut out a great deal of light, while the wind made weird music with the rusty signs that swung overhead. These houses extended as far as the chapel of St. Thomas à Becket, which was built on the central pier of the bridge. Between this and the drawbridge there were more buildings, and so again from the drawbridge till you came to the great gateway at the southern end, with its gruesome ornament of human heads stuck upon poles. In addition to the gateway and the chapel, there appears to have been two other large structures upon the bridge in the days of Elizabeth, one of them being a wooden building brought from Holland and named Nonsuch House, gaudily painted and with gilded cupolas. Thus the aspect of the bridge must have been picturesque enough, though the charm of the houses may not have been appreciated by those who had to pick their way through the dark archways and along the narrow and generally dirty causeway that ran between the two sets of buildings.

These houses were inhabited at one time by wealthy city merchants. It seems incredible, because they must have been small and inconvenient, but Stow tells us so, and have we not also the famous story of Osborne the apprentice, who sprang from a window into the river below to rescue his master's daughter, and that master Sir William Hewet, Lord Mayor of London? This story also reminds us that there were shops on the bridge at an early date, but it was not until the

second half of the sixteenth century that we find any mention of a bookseller.

Difficult as it is to reconstruct the bridge in imagination, it is quite impossible to make out the positions of the booksellers' shops upon it, for we have nothing beyond the imprints in the books that came from them to guide us, and these are vague and unsatisfactory. But such as they are we must make the best of them until we can have access to the records of the Bridgehouse Committee, which probably would tell us more about the London Bridge booksellers than anything at present available.

The first bookseller's shop on London Bridge of which we have any certain knowledge was that opened by William Pickering at St. Magnus Corner, that is, close to the church of St. Magnus at the northern end of the bridge. All we know about Pickering is that he was one of the original members of the Incorporated Company, and that on a broadside of the dying speech of Lord Sturton, which he published in 1557, he described himself as dwelling upon London Bridge. There he continued until 1571, being succeeded in the same premises by Richard Ballard, Hugh Astley, and John Tap.

But before the close of the sixteenth century a second bookseller's shop was opened on the bridge by Thomas Gosson (said to have been a relative of Stephen Gosson, the author of the 'School of Abuse'), who already had a shop in Paternoster Row. Gosson's shop is described as being 'near the Gate,' that is, at the southern end of the bridge, but whether it was on the north or south of the

gateway, or upon which side of the street, we are left to guess. Thomas Gosson died in 1600, and was succeeded in 1607 by his son Henry, who carried on the business both in Paternoster Row and on the bridge until the year 1641. We have also a glimpse, a very momentary one, of a third bookseller on the bridge in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The authority is a reprint by J. O. Halliwell, in his 'Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' (1851), of a chapbook, entitled, 'Love's Garland, or Posies for Rings,' etc. The imprint of the chapbook stated that it was printed for John Spencer, and was to be sold at his shop on London Bridge. That was in 1624, and it is the only record we have of Spencer. Very likely he published nothing else, though he may have carried on business as a bookseller for several years.

In 1633 a fire, said to have been caused by a careless servant placing a brazier of charcoal under some stairs in one of the houses, destroyed a large number of buildings at the north end of the bridge, including no doubt the house at St. Magnus Corner, then in the occupation of John Tap. The gap thus made was not refilled until 1645 or 1646, but there is evidence of a fourth bookseller's shop established on the bridge before that time. An edition of Scott's 'An Essay of Drapery,' printed in 1635, is preserved in the British Museum, and has the imprint of Stephen Pemell, 'to be sold at his shop upon London Bridge, neere the gate.' This again is a solitary survival, and nothing more is known of this publisher.

During the period of the Civil War, the booksellers' shops on the bridge appear to have been closed; but in 1659 trade revived, and a bookseller named Charles Tyus is found at the sign of the 'Three Bibles' on the middle of London Bridge. Who he was and where he came from have yet to be found out. The same remark applies to Charles Passinger, who carried on business at the 'Seven Stars' in the New Buildings, that is, in the buildings at the north end which replaced those destroyed in the second fire of 1666; but in all probability he was a relative, perhaps a brother, of Thomas Passinger, who succeeded Tyus at the sign of the 'Three Bibles.' Thomas Passinger died in 1688, and his will is in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Several passages in it are interesting, and I will venture to quote them:

'I give and bequeath vnto my . . . wife (Sarah), the incomb interest or profit of my stock or share in the English stock of the Company of Stationers for and during her natural life, shee continuing my widow; but at her death, or upon her marriage, I give & bequeath the stock itself to my kinsman Thomas Passinger, now my apprentice, and to my neece Sarah Passinger, equally to bee divided between them.'

'Item I give and bequeath to my kinsman Thomas Passinger, now my apprentice, after the expiration of his apprenticeship, all my copyes and parts of copyes and books and copperplates and things relating thereunto and foure silver spoones, as alsoe all my share in the Ballad warehouse of all the stocke and copyes of books and ballads which I now have in partnership with Mr. William Thackerye in a warehouse in Pye Corner. And my will is that the same books and ballads and Copyes of bookes and ballads shall bee kept in print as formerly in the said Warehouse to the expiration of his said apprenticeship.'

To the poor of the Company of Stationers

Passinger left a bequest of 40s., and among his minor legacies is the following :

‘Item, I give and bequeath to the public library at Guildford one booke of the value of forty shillings.’

The Guildford here mentioned is no doubt the town of that name in Surrey, of which perhaps Passinger was a native. But what is meant by the public library? The only library in the town in 1688, so far as I am aware, was that attached to King Edward VI.’s Grammar School in the High Street. A few months ago I had an opportunity of visiting Guildford, and great was my surprise and pleasure to find that the library of the Grammar School (though it is not mentioned in Mr. Blades’s list), is a chained library of between two and three hundred volumes, with the chains still attached to them. Unfortunately the man who showed me over had other duties, which prevented him from devoting much time to me, and I had to leave without being able to find out whether Passinger’s bequest was amongst the books. The printer’s legatee, Thomas Passinger the second, altered the sign of the ‘Three Bibles’ to the ‘Three Bibles and Star,’ and can be traced there until 1695. During the eighteenth century the house under its old sign was in the hands of Ebenezer Tracy and his sons.

The Fire of London, in 1666, destroyed for the second time the houses at the north end of the bridge, but they were quickly rebuilt, and the bridge became a more popular place than ever with the booksellers. Nor is this to be wondered

at. It was the only land communication between the two sides of the river, and must have been at all times a busy thoroughfare, and consequently a good position for trade. So between 1660 and 1750 the booksellers' signs multiplied, and amongst them we meet with 'The Red Lion' in the hands of A. Bettesworth; 'The Golden Bible,' in the occupation successively of T. Parkhurst and Joseph Collyer; 'The Hand and Bible,' held successively by T. Taylor and Elizabeth Smith; 'The Sun and Bible' in the Low Buildings, held by J. Williamson and H. Green; and 'The Black Boy' near the drawbridge, where John Back was succeeded by M. Hotham. There was also a house in the New Buildings apparently without a sign, tenanted by a bookseller named Benjamin Hurlock. But the most important house, at least during the first half of the eighteenth century, was 'The Looking Glass,' sometimes described as 'over against' and sometimes as 'under St. Magnus' Church,' and occasionally as 'in the New Buildings.' Josiah Blare, its first tenant, from 1670 to 1706, describes it in his will as being on the north-east side of the bridge, so that clearly it was one of the shops rebuilt after the Great Fire. The subsequent tenants of this house are most difficult to trace, owing to the fact that there was another house on the bridge with a similar sign, and also a third called 'The Looking Glass and Bible'; but so far as I have been able to work them out, Thomas Norris succeeded Blare, and James Hodges succeeded Norris in the same house, while Thomas Harris and Edward Midwinter appear to belong either to the

rival house or to 'The Looking Glass and Bible.' In no other way can I explain the overlapping of dates which occur in the chronology of this house. At any rate, Blare, Norris and Hodges were the most important tenants of 'The Looking Glass,' and of these James Hodges was the greatest. He began business about 1730, perhaps earlier, the precise date being uncertain. In 1750 he was elected deputy for Bridge Ward Without, and he subsequently held the high position of Town Clerk of the City of London. In 1758 he was knighted by George II. on presenting an address, and was thus not only one of the most important booksellers that ever lived on the bridge, but one of the few booksellers in London who ever obtained a title.

During the whole of the period we have been considering, the bridge was in a more or less ruinous condition, and the houses upon it were in the same state; in fact, it was no uncommon thing for these crazy structures to collapse suddenly and tumble headlong into the river below. Complaints as to their dangerous condition were constantly being made to the Corporation, which at length determined upon removing the houses altogether. The work of demolition began in 1758, which may be taken as marking the close of the history of the booksellers of London Bridge.

Having thus briefly sketched the chronological outlines of the London Bridge booksellers, I turn now to the literature that they sold. This mostly took the form of cheap and handy books suitable for supplying the packs of numerous pedlars and

hucksters who roamed about the country, and offered these 'chapbooks' for sale. Here is an advertisement issued by Thomas Norris in 1722:

'At the afore mentioned place, all country chapmen may be furnished with all sorts of Bibles, Common Prayer, Testaments, Psalters, Primers and Horn books; likewise all sorts of Three sheet histories, peny histories and sermons, and choice of new and old ballads at reasonable rates.'¹

The ballads, which are mentioned last in Norris's advertisement, served the double purpose of affording amusement and conveying news. They were the means by which such events as fires, floods, battles, shipwrecks, murders, and monstrous births became the gossip of the countryside. Then there was the ballad historical or political, the ballad in praise of good ale, the ballad amatory, and last, but not least, a group of songs known as 'catches,' often very humorous and showing no

¹ One of the addresses given in it entitles me to mention in this connection another advertisement, which is to be found in the 'Postman' of September 27th, 1711:

'If any author that is absent desires to have the press accurately corrected according to his copy, whether it be English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or French, let the printer leave the sheets at Mr. Cliffe's at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside, Mr. Phillips at the Black Bull in Cornhill over against Sweeting's Alley, or Mr. Tracy at the Three Bibles on London Bridge, and it shall be done with all possible care and despatch by a person well read in Arts and Languages, who may be heard of at all these booksellers as occasion shall require.'

Very likely this is not the earliest proof-reader's advertisement now extant, but until another is found it may pass as such. Ebenezer Tracy was also the proprietor of a quack nostrum warranted to cure all ills, to which he gave the name of Balsam of Chili, and advertised largely.

little skill in their compilation. As a rule these popular songs made no pretence to literary merit; they were the merest doggrel, but the names of one or two of their writers have been preserved to us. One of these was Thomas Deloney, a silk weaver, who flourished in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. Another was Martin Parker, a royalist, who is chiefly remembered as the author of the Jacobite song, 'When the King enjoys his own again.' A third ballad writer was Martin Parker, who flourished between 1628 and 1680.

Printed on the coarsest paper with any old types, black letter for preference, and ornamented with old book blocks that can be traced back sixty or a hundred years earlier, there was nothing in the appearance of these sheets to tempt the purchaser. Yet the huckster could sell them faster than he could sell his ribbons and laces, more especially if he could troll out the song for the benefit of the crowd.

Each ballad had its appointed tune, thus one was to be sung to the tune of 'Wigmore's galliard,' another to that of 'O Man in desperation'; a third very popular air bore the title of 'Greene Sleeves.' Some had tunes specially composed for them, but generally they were set to some air that was already popular on the streets.

Many of these old ballads still remain to us—witness the Roxburghe, Bagford, Pepys, and Crawford collections—and they have been reprinted and described by several writers, one of the best written accounts being that given by John Payne Collier in his introduction to 'A Book of Roxburghe

Ballads,' printed in 1847. In this he traces the growth of the ballad in popular favour, giving the titles of several of the old plays in which they were mentioned. He further points out that in many instances the ballads issued by the London Bridge booksellers were only reprints, the originals being of much earlier date. William Pickering and Henry Gosson appear to have been the most prolific of ballad publishers, but it must not be forgotten, that we have no transcript of the Stationers' Registers after 1640, and further that previous to that date ballads, like school books and law books, had been made into a 'stock' by the Company of Stationers, and therefore no special entry in the registers was then necessary. On the whole, I think it would be found that Thomas Passinger or Thomas Norris, issued quite as many ballads as did either Pickering or Gosson.

These ballads were afterwards collected in book form, to which the collective title of 'Garland' was given, and these garlands were issued in great numbers by one and all of the London Bridge booksellers. To name but a few, Deloney, already mentioned, was the author of 'The Royal Garland of Love and Delight,' and 'The Garland of Good Will.' Then we meet with 'The Loyal Garland,' 'The Jovial Garland,' 'Robin Hood's Garland,' 'Constant Betty's Garland,' 'Celia's Garland,' and so on.

For the most part, these collections consisted of amorous songs, unclean both in thought and expression. 'The Loyal Garland,' however, had a mixture of Royalists' songs, and 'Robin Hood's

Garland,' as may be gathered from its name, was a collection of songs relating to that celebrated personage. A copy of the second edition of 'The Loyal Garland,' printed by J. R. for T. Passinger in 1686, is in the British Museum, and has on the title-page a wreath or garland, on the left of which is a portrait of King Charles II., and on the right one with the letters 'G. M.,' possibly George Monk.

Another class of book issued by the London Bridge booksellers, that had a large sale, was formed by jest books and collections of merry tales, some of them as old as the hills, and others attributed to and named after such jovial characters as Tarleton and Peele. One of the oldest of these collections, 'The Sackful of News,' was issued by T. Passinger, and amongst the issues of T. Norris and James Hodges, we meet with 'Joe Miller's Jests,' 'London Jests,' 'Oxford Jests,' and many more.

But the literature which, more than any other, set its seal upon the London Bridge booksellers was what Norris described in the advertisement already noticed as 'three sheet histories' and 'peny histories,' but which we know better under the title of chapbooks, the thrilling stories of love and adventure which formed the 'fiction issues' of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Some of these were the abridgements of larger works, such as the romances of Guy of Warwick, Amadis of Gaul, the pleasant and delightful history of Palladine of England, the famous and delectable history of Cleocreton and Cloryana, the life of Virgilius, the history of Reynard the Fox, and the

story of Valentine and Orson. Others again were entirely made in England, of which the most noteworthy were 'Thomas of Reading,' from the pen of Thomas Deloney, 'The Seven Champions of Christendom,' and 'Tom of Lincoln,' from that of Richard Johnson. Then there was still another class, such as 'Tom Thumb,' 'The Sleeping Beauty,' 'The Children in the Wood,' and many others that have become household words in juvenile literature. These were the books which served to while away the long winter hours in country places, which were passed from hand to hand and from farmhouse to farmhouse, until they were thumbed out of existence. Speaking of this class of fiction, the late W. J. Thoms, in a preface to his 'Early English Prose Romances,' says:

'These narrations have strong and deeply-rooted claims upon our affections, for they were the delight of those from whom we spring—alike the study and admiration of Ladye Faire and gallant Knight, and the never-ending theme of the shepherd and the husbandman. High and low, gentle and simple, found solace in their contemplation; their recital cheered the forsaken damsel in her lonely bower, inspired the warrior with a bright and chivalrous bravery, and gladdened the hearts and roused the drooping spirits of the peasantry, who, when the labours of the day were at a close, gathered into an anxious circle round the narrator, and caught with greedy ears the tales of other days.'

There is not a doubt, I think, that if there had been public libraries in those days, these books would always have been 'out,' much, it may be, to the

horror of some of the ratepayers. On the whole these chapbooks were harmless in tone, and the cuts with which one and all were profusely illustrated, if they were lacking in originality or beauty of execution, helped to endear them to their readers. Nor did the chapbook pass away with the disappearance of the London Bridge booksellers. The towns of Nottingham, Tewkesbury, and Newcastle are all renowned as the centres from which these little booklets were issued in the early years of the nineteenth century.

But the pens of Thoms, Dyce, Halliwell, and Collier have made us familiar with these chapbooks and their history. It is rather to the miscellaneous publications, the 'odds and ends' of the London Bridge booksellers that I would like to call special attention.

Take, for example, a little duodecimo with a very long title, which I will abridge into 'Remarks on London,' that was published by Thomas Norris at the Looking Glass in 1722. The author was William Stow, who may have been a descendant of the great annalist.

In his preface he claims to have traversed 2,175 streets, lanes, courts, and other places, and to have covered 250 miles. The first part of the work consists of a street directory, a list of the churches and chapels in London, and a list of the fairs in England and Wales. Then follows an account of the General Post Office in Lombard Street from which I take a few notes that may interest some modern readers. Thus, a single letter cost three-pence to send eighty miles, a double letter sixpence.

Above that distance a single letter cost fourpence, while anything that weighed an ounce cost fourteen pence. The mails left London for various parts of England and Scotland three times a week, but to Wales and Ireland only twice, and the compiler was careful to add that the receipt and delivery of letters to Ireland, and indeed to all other foreign places, was very uncertain, as it depended upon winds. There were also district offices in various parts of London for the receipt and despatch of letters, and it was the custom to send the crier round every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday night, to give notice of the departure of the mails, and he was allowed to charge a penny for every letter he carried to the district offices. This custom was in use late enough to form the subject of one of the elder Hazlitt's essays.

This useful little book also included a description of the roads and cross-roads, a list of all the market towns and market days, a tide table and almanac, and a list of all the stage-coaches, with the names of the inns from which they set out.

Another curious publication was the 'Academy of Complements, or a New Way of Wooing. Wherein is variety of Love-Letters, very fit to be read of all Young Men and Maids that desire to learn the true way of Complements.' This was a small octavo of twenty-four pages, an abridgement of a very unclean book called the 'New Academy of Complements,' which, in its turn, took its title from a much earlier work called the 'Academy of Complements.' The original had nothing unclean about it, being principally a collection of dialogues,

songs and poems, taken from Shakespeare's plays, with a few examples in the art of letter-writing. Other versions of the work were issued under such titles as 'Wit's Academy or the Muses delight, being the Newest Academy of Complements,' and 'A Flying Post with a packet of choice new letters and complements.'

Again, amongst Norris's publications was one entitled 'Wit's Cabinet: A companion for Ladies and Gentlemen,' the first part consisting of the 'Interpretation of dreams,' according to which, to dream that your face is black, foreshows you shall live long, and to dream that one sees a stack of corn burnt down is a sure sign of dearth and famine. The fifth part of this book was entitled 'The Cabinet of Art and Nature unlock'd,' and consisted for the most part of conjuring tricks. The rest of the work was made up of letters of 'Love and Courtship from the Academy of Complements and choice songs.' A very similar publication was that issued by James Hodges in 1739, entitled 'The Curiosity or Gentleman and Ladys Library.' This was a medley in prose and verse, first published in York in 1738, the character of which may be gathered from a few quotations of the headings of various portions of it. It included: 'The Woman of Taste, or the Yorkshire Lady a Ballad Opera'; 'A New and Accurate Translation of Basia; or, the Pleasures of Kissing'; 'The Progress of a Female Rake'; to these Hodges added several more poems of a still more questionable character.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the London Bridge booksellers had nothing better to

offer their customers than doggrel ballads and books such as I have just described. Much useful literature was to be found there. To Thomas Passinger of the 'Three Bibles' belongs the credit of having issued the first edition of 'Cocker's Arithmetick,' a work that went through so many editions as to need a small bibliography to itself. From the same house came Gervase Markham's 'Masterpiece,' containing all the knowledge belonging to the Smith Farrier or Horse leech, a work which long remained the best of its kind on the subject. Markham had been a soldier, and his knowledge of horses, as shown in this book, was extensive; not the least valuable part being the chapters which dealt with the tricks of dealers and jockeys.

Passinger also published a folio edition of the 'Travels of George Sandys'; and, in quarto form, the yet more remarkable 'Nineteen Yeares travels' of William Lithgow, who had travelled into the remote parts of Europe and Africa, had been frequently shipwrecked, and was almost tortured to death by the Inquisition in Spain.

Books on the science of navigation, then in its infancy, such as Robert Norman's 'New Attractive; The Safegarde of Saylers,' Martin Curtis' 'Art of Navigation,' or Richard Polters' 'Pathway to perfect sailing,' were to be met with in the shops of John Tapp and Benjamin Hurlock, where also, no doubt, could be obtained such charts and maps of the world as were then known. Some of the topographical works met with are amongst the most interesting of the publications of these London Bridge booksellers. One of them was entitled,

'The Pleasant Walkes in Moore fields,' and was from the pen of the versatile Richard Johnson, and was published in quarto by Henry Gosson in 1607. It contains much quaint history relating to the city of London, told in the form of a dialogue between a citizen and a stranger.

A second work of this class is a short but valuable history of the town of Faversham, in Kent, written by Thomas Shorthouse, a resident, and published by T. Passinger, in 1671, under the title of 'Monasticon Favershamienses or a survey of the Monastery of Faversham.' A third dealt with the virtues of the medical waters of the Spa at Scarborough, in Yorkshire, by a certain Dr. Robert Wittie. It gave rise to a good deal of controversy, but is chiefly interesting to us from the fact that the second edition of 1667 was printed at York by Alice Broad for Thomas Passinger.

Again, amongst the host of trivial works that were issued by James Hodges, there was a good sprinkling of books of a higher order, notably a collection from the poets, entitled, 'The Muses Library.' The collection was made by a lady, Elizabeth Cooper, was decently printed on good paper, and was issued in 1737, as a fairly thick octavo volume. It was intended to carry it on, but probably from lack of support it never got beyond the first volume.

Hodges also published the Works of William Tansur, the musician, whose publications contain, says his biographer, in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' the earliest known copies of what were formerly familiar psalm-tunes. The works as issued

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by Hodges formed an oblong quarto volume, and included 'The Harmony of Sion,' and 'The Melody of the Heart,' with tunes to the various psalms, etc. The frontispiece shows the author, William Tansur, in his study, surrounded by books, and with a pleasant outlook from the window, evidently engaged upon the composition of some new score. Round this picture is a frame consisting of a musical stave and notes, and the words, 'Lord, tune my heart within my breast and frame it to thy holy will: And let thy spirit within me rest, which may my soul with comfort fill.' Above this again is a ribbon with the words 'Gloria in excelsis deo,' held by two cherubs. At the end of the first book is a woodcut of King David playing the harp. Again, at the end of the third book of the 'Harmony of Sion' is another portrait of the author.

Among other works of popular science published by Hodges, may be noticed 'The Laboratory, or School of Arts,' a second edition of which appeared in 1740. This work dealt with refining and assaying various metals, the art of making glass, and much other information useful to cutlers, pewterers, brasiers, and others. Then we meet with the 'Builder's Guide,' 'The Art of Painting in Miniature,' and the 'Young Mathematicians Guide,' in short with works upon every conceivable subject.

If the chapmen who dealt with the London Bridge publishers took many books like these into the country with them, they must be reckoned among the popular educators of their day.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

FACTS AND FANCIES IN BACONIAN THEORY.

THE latest contribution to the perennial conflict of Baconians and Shakespearians comes once more from the pen of Mr. W. H. Mallock. Once again he assumes an attitude of impartial inquiry, and while avowedly detaching himself from the ranks of either side, proceeds to support his case with a long array of *ex parte* arguments. But he has at least the courage to eschew generalities and condescend to particulars, wherefore it would be no more discourteous than unwise for any who dissent from his conclusions to indulge in mere vague abuse. Moreover, I venture to think that here, no less than in the case of the famous cypher, the advocates of Shakespeare need have no fear of coming to close quarters with their antagonists.

The particular subject of Mr. Mallock's article in the January number of 'The Pall Mall Magazine' is the occurrence of 'emblems' of alleged Baconian significance on the title-pages of certain books of the early seventeenth century. Ornamental title-pages of the sort are, as Mr. Mallock says, of common occurrence, and many most undoubtedly belong to the class of 'emblems.' Now, the subject of 'emblems' is a very large one, and one on which

a variety of learned works have been written. For such as are unfamiliar with this particular form of ingenuity it may be explained that 'emblems' are pictures of a more or less symbolic intention, generally accompanied by explanatory text, usually in verse, but also sometimes in prose. If for any reason the text is absent, the meaning in most cases becomes quite unfathomable, since, though it is true that a certain amount of conventional symbolism (instances of which are quoted by Mr. Mallock) gives an appearance of 'picture-writing' to the art, it is so restricted as to render little real help to the would-be interpreter. The continuation to 'The New Atlantis,' in which this symbolical language appears most elaborated, was published, it must be remembered, in 1660, at the very end of the 'emblem' craze, which had by then amused Europe for more than a century and a quarter. The earlier work was in most cases never intended to be self-explanatory, as anyone may satisfy himself who will turn to such a book as the 'Veridicus Christianus' by the Dutch Jesuit, John David (Plantin, 1601), and endeavour, without referring to the elaborate prose commentary, to make out the meaning of the fine copperplates, even with the assistance of the tri-lingual mottoes.

'Emblem' title-pages became the fashion early in the reign of James. They sometimes appear of a simple and obvious kind, as, for instance, that to the 1616 folio of Jonson's works, which bears emblematic figures of the different species of drama and various classical antiquities, and later that to Bacon's 'Instauratio Magna' of 1620 and Fuller's 'Holy

War' of 1640. A far more intricate example, as well as the earliest one that occurs to me at the moment, is that to Raleigh's 'History of the World,' which first appeared in 1614. This is accompanied by a leaf of explanatory verse, wanting in many copies, headed 'The Minde of the Front.'

These few remarks appear necessary by way of introduction, since Mr. Mallock is inclined to take up the attitude—perhaps excusable in a popular magazine—of introducing his readers to a perfectly new and untrodden field. It may also be premised that Bacon was—*teste* Baudoin—at least interested in these toys called 'emblems,' just as he was interested in the far more important matter of cyphers. But it does not follow that he was therefore given to introduce the former into other people's title-pages any more than the latter into other people's writings.

Mr. Mallock takes up the position, usual with the defenders of fantastical causes, that his arguments are cumulative. Individually they may not be convincing, but taken together—! We have heard this before. You might as well attack a jelly-fish. He will complacently watch the demolition of support after support of his fairy fabric, the explosion of figment after figment of his scheme, and smilingly murmur 'cumulative evidence!' Not until every single item of his evidence has been proved utterly fictitious will he cease to believe in the alchemy of the words 'cumulative evidence'—*et encore!* But this is a large undertaking!

It is only fair to note that Mr. Mallock claims no originality for the 'facts' and theories he ad-

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duces; his materials having been supplied from elsewhere. Since, however, he has deemed it fit to make these 'facts' known to the world, and himself the mouthpiece of others, his blood must be upon his own head.

The examples of 'emblem' title-pages dealt with are three in number: those to the 'Spenser' of 1611, Florio's 'Montaigne' of 1632, and Selenus' 'Cyphers' of 1624. We will consider these in order, and I may say here that in every case I have examined the original prints and have not founded any arguments on the facsimiles that illustrate Mr. Mallock's article. Those here given in miniature are intended merely as reminders.

Those acquainted with the bibliography of English literature must be pretty familiar with the ornamental border used in the editions of Spenser of 1611 and 1617, but they are also likely to be aware that it was by no means its first appearance. Mr. Mallock hardly seems to grasp the importance of the question as to where it was first used, for he merely informs us in a note, added as by an afterthought, that it is found in the sixth edition of Sidney's 'Arcadia' in 1623 and 'appeared first on the title-page of Bedingfield's translation of Machiavelli's Florentine History.' Now this happens to be incorrect, and the mistake further happens to be of the first consequence, since, as we shall see in a moment, it entirely upsets Mr. Mallock's interpretation of the design. A careful glance at that design itself, with its figures of the shepherd and Amazon, should indeed have made Mr. Mallock suspect its origin—if, that is, he knew aught of

Sidney's romance beyond its name. It is quite true that the border appears in the 'Arcadia' of 1623; it is also true that it appeared in the editions of that work published in 1593, 1598, 1613, 1629, 1633, and 1638, as well as in the 'Machiavelli' of 1595 and the 'Spenser' of 1611 and 1617. It is evident that Ponsonby the publisher had the border cut for Sidney's work, and to him the block belonged. The fact of its appearing in the 'Machiavelli' of 1595 (to which it is singularly ill-suited), printed for Ponsonby by T. Creede, suggests that the latter may have been the printer of the 1593 and 1598 'Arcadias.' After this, however, Ponsonby reclaimed the block, for Creede, though he continued in business till 1617 (not 1616, as usually stated), never, so far as I am aware, used it again, while from 1611 onwards we find it in the hands of the printer Humphrey Lownes, who used it indiscriminately for the works of Sidney and Spenser, and possibly others too. This brief history should suffice to show the danger of attributing significance to the casual appearance of an ornament or pictorial titlepage-border in an old volume.

But now that we know its history let us turn to the design itself and see how Mr. Mallock's remarks accord with the facts. To the figures of the shepherd and Amazon, which Mr. Mallock does not mention, I have already alluded—they obviously represent the two heroes of the romance, Musidorus and Pyrocles, in their disguises of Dorus and Zelmane. The small cut at the top of the page is not a 'hog with a halter' (hog-hanged=Bacon), as Mr. Mallock would have it, but nothing more

emblematic than Sidney's crest—a porcupine passant azure, quilled, collared and chained or! It is true that it does look rather like a boar—but such *is* the heraldic porcupine, being furnished with tusks! This crest appears between two beasts, a lion and a bear. Mr. Mallock, of course, at once sees evidence of Bacon's royal descent: 'One belongs to the Queen, the other to the Earl of Leicester.' Here he gets in a right and left and only misses clean with one barrel. The other, however, does but knock out tail-feathers. The bear on the left is undoubtedly that of the Dudleys; but it appears here not because Leicester was the father of Bacon, but because Sidney's mother was the daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Warwick. The lion on the right, on the other hand (it should have been ducally crowned, just as the bear should have been chained), is the sinister supporter of the Sidney arms. So much for the upper part of the border. At the foot is a picture representing what is this time undoubtedly a hog smelling at a rose-bush, across which runs the motto, 'Non tibi spiro.' Here we have a most undoubted and very typical 'emblem.' This Mr. Mallock interprets as Bacon wistfully regarding the Tudor roses and despairing of having his birth recognized. Those who have followed the explanation of the rest of the border set forth above will perhaps prefer to regard this design as expressing the idea that the delicate perfume of Sidney's courtly fantasy is not meant for the porcine nostrils of the vulgar.

In turning to Montaigne the first difficulty that

presents itself is one of chronology. Why was it that the title-page, in which Mr. Mallock finds Baconian emblems, only appeared in the third edition published in 1632, no less than six years after Bacon's death? This is a difficulty which never seems to have occurred to Mr. Mallock. He plunges straight into the matter of interpretation. The title-page, which has some explanatory verses opposite, is an architectural one, and through an arch in the centre we obtain a view of buildings beyond. Here it becomes necessary to quote Mr. Mallock. 'The two broken arches,' he says, 'are recognizable as inverted F's. In the poem the reader is instructed to look at the title-page with a "glauncing eye," which suggests that he should look at it from different points of view. If, acting on the suggestion, we look at the page sideways, the two arches at the end of the street give us the letter B. We thus get the initials F. B. The buildings beyond the arches are standing in the sea. If we "glaunce" at the plate obliquely, as the strange object at the feet of the figures in Holbein's "Two Ambassadors" is meant to be "glaunced" at (when it foreshortens itself into a human skull), the left-hand arch opens; and the building in the sea, together with the spire, assumes the aspect of a lighthouse, or, as has been suggested, a beacon—a word which was pronounced Bacon, just as the tea of "Great Anna" later on was pronounced *tay*. . . . The circular building [on the left] represents the Globe Theatre, and the [roofless and incomplete] building in front of it the author of the dramas acted there—or, if we

prefer to say so, the fame or reputation of the author—which is dark and incomplete. On the left-hand side of the great gate is a niche, waiting for a statue, thus repeating the foregoing suggestion that half of Bacon's fame—that of a poet—is hidden: whilst what seems to be a niche opposite to it is not a niche at all, but is an aperture through which a stream of light—the light of philosophy—is admitted. And now let the reader turn to the title which surmounts the gate. He will see that this, instead of being cut in the stone, and thus forming part of the building, is carefully represented as being written on a movable sheet or banner, affixed to the building by a nail which is not driven home, and suggesting that beneath it is the true title concealed.'

Some readers may, perchance, feel moved to vote all this sheer nonsense without further hearing, but let them have patience, for if we disagree with the interpretation put upon the design by Mr. Mallock, we should at least be able to give our reasons for so doing. Personally I take it that the design is nothing but an ideal picture of the relics of that glorious antique world amid which the meditative genius of Montaigne moved, and I believe that in almost every instance Mr. Mallock has misinterpreted the signs before his eyes in a manner which leaves one little escape from the conclusion that he was blinded by a preconceived theory. As to the initials: even granting that the broken arches have some remote resemblance to F's, why should there be two of them, and why should they be turned the wrong way round?

(‘You mustn’t leave out so many things,’ the White Queen very justly remarked); while it is obviously impossible to draw two arches side by side which will *not* form a B if looked at sideways. As to ‘glauncing’; if Mr. Mallock will consult the ‘New English Dictionary’ he will find that there is not the least authority for the meaning he here proposes to find in the word; he has moreover, as I shall show in a moment, entirely missed the drift of the explanatory verses in which the word occurs, but which most indubitably do *not* bid the reader look with ‘a glauncing eye.’ After a careful examination of the original engraving I furthermore deny that there is the smallest evidence for supposing that the distant buildings are standing in the sea, while looking at the plate from every direction, after the fashion of Holbein’s rebus (*hohl-Bein*), I fail to find any trace of a light-house, beacon, or anything of the sort—which, however, may of course be due to my own blindness. With reference to the would-be ‘Globe,’ it is perhaps sufficient to point out that a round temple roofed has little resemblance with any early theatre, most of which were roofless; least of all with the ‘Globe,’ which was hexagonal in shape! What Mr. Mallock describes as the unfinished building in front is obviously a ruin, the stones at the top being broken off jagged, and what he calls ‘two stone steps, which have evidently not been put in their proper place,’ is easily seen in the original to be portions of a fallen frieze. The statueless niche is evidently part of a passage running transversely through the arch, the con-

tinuation of that through which the light falls on the right. Since the whole picture is lit from this side there is no reason to suppose this particular beam to be the light of philosophy rather than any other beam in this or any other picture. Lastly, I may assure Mr. Mallock that the representing of a title as cut on stone was most uncommon, if indeed it occurs at all, at that date, while the engraving of it on some scroll or compartment as here was very common indeed. It is, therefore, to say the least, gratuitous to suppose that the 'banner' is intended to cover the real title, even were it possible to suppose any more 'real' title than 'The Essayes or Morall, Politike, and Militarie Discourses of Lo: Michael de Montaigne' for the work in question.

But before passing on we must glance at the explanatory verses. They are, it must be confessed, far from perucid, as is often the case with effusions of this class, but the general drift is sufficiently clear for our purpose. They are too long to quote entire: I will therefore give their drift as it appears to me. 'When first this portlike Frontispiece was wrought,' says the poetical exponent, it was the intention of the artist to embellish his design 'With Emblemes, and with Pictures,' drawn from the author's work, in such a manner that the beholder, 'By casting thereupon a glauncing [*i.e.* casual] eye,' might at once have been informed of the contents of the volume. But, reading through the Essays, that 'Palace¹ of Invention,' with a view to this, he found such profusion of beauties that

¹ Misprinted *Place* in the original.

merely to enumerate them would need a whole volume. 'For, in those Angles, and among those Leaves,' that is, in every corner of the 'Palace,' and amid the profuse growth of the author's wit, fresh 'Fruits' of genius display themselves everywhere to the carefully inquiring eye, so that they pass far beyond 'a briefe expression,' and he had to abandon his intention. 'In stead of Emblemes therefore,' he has been fain 'To fixe the Authors Title' and name upon his design. The author of the verses then proceeds, in some rather obscure lines, to remark upon the advantage of having the work translated.

Here, then, we have the definite statement that the artist—it was Martin Droeshout, by the bye, who engraved the portrait of Shakespeare in the folio of 1623: surely Mr. Mallock might have founded some further arguments upon this coincidence—the artist intended to introduce 'emblems' into his design, but, on second thoughts, engraved the title instead. There is, moreover, good reason to suppose that the statement is in accordance with fact, and not merely a versifier's fiction, for a glance either at the original or the facsimile will at once show that certain portions of the architectural design—'Roomes and Galleries,' as the author of the verses calls them—have actually had the frames of such 'Emblemes' and 'Pictures' sketched in upon them. A similar use of architectural panels may be observed alike in the 'Jonson' of 1616 and in Harington's 'Orlando' of 1591. We are then, I think, justified in assuming that the title-page contains no cryptic

'emblems,' but that, as I said above, it is merely an imaginary presentment of the ruined glories of the past.

The third title-page need hardly detain us long. Mr. Mallock appears to attach particular importance to it, since he gives no less than four facsimiles. I do not propose to enter in detail into his interpretations, but only to give what appears to me the obvious significance of the pictures introduced. Beyond the mere fact that the work is on cyphers, and that as we well know Bacon was interested in the subject, as every diplomatist of the time necessarily was, there is, as far as I am aware, no evidence whatever to associate Bacon with the work of Selenus, dedicated to the Emperor Ferdinand II., and published at Luneberg in 1624. A casual perusal has even failed to show that Selenus' monumental work contains Bacon's particular *omnia per omnia* cypher; but on this point I may be in error. Now, such being the nature of the work, I shall hardly be accused of paradox if I suggest that the pictures, in spite of being distinctly in the style of the 'emblem' artists, are not strict 'emblems' at all, but merely illustrate various incidents in the writing and transmitting of despatches. In the head compartment we see a boat rowing away from a town lit up by beacon fires—possibly escaping with cypher despatches by night from a besieged city. The 'magic circle of the imagination' which, according to Mr. Mallock, incloses this compartment is merely a conventional design to be found repeated *ad nauseam* in the arabesques of Renaissance ornament; while of the three 'masks' said to represent

tragedy, comedy and farce, two are apparently intended by the anonymous engraver to be identical, differing only in the lighting, and if the third does indeed represent farce, it is certainly the most dolefully tragical farce that ever saddened its beholders. In the left-hand compartment we see a gentleman delivering a paper to a 'foot-man' (*i.e.*, a foot-messenger), who is again seen plodding on his way in the middle distance. He carries a spear; but is it necessary to conclude that he must therefore be Shakespeare, even when, as Mr. Mallock admits, there is otherwise not the remotest resemblance? Above is a bird carrying a paper, towards which an arrow is seen flying. This again is easily interpreted as another method of transmitting despatches. On the right again is a messenger on horseback blowing upon a post-horn of the identical shape which may still be seen as the emblem of the postal service in Germany and elsewhere. Lastly, at the foot of the page we see a secretary writing despatches, while a courtier stands by holding a fur cap in his hand. In this last figure Mr. Mallock sees 'a conventional representation of Shakespeare.' As to the probability of this being so, anyone who will look either at the original or facsimile may satisfy himself. It might pass for a clumsy portrait of Raleigh (see the engraving in the later editions of his 'History of the World'), but assuredly not of Shakespeare. The other figure of course is, to Mr. Mallock, Bacon, and he proceeds to announce that his Shakespeare is 'taking a cap of maintenance from his [Bacon's] head.' 'Is it possible,' he further asks, 'to explain this picture in any

other way than as an image of Shakespeare appropriating the philosopher's fame.' Now, although it would seem more probable that the cap belongs in fact to the courtier, it certainly does look in the picture as though he were holding it over the head of the scribe. But whether he is taking it off or putting it on—'that's quite another thing.' Mr. Mallock, it will be observed, calls it a cap of maintenance, but the 'chapeau,' or 'cap of maintenance,' familiar to all students of heraldry, bears not the least resemblance to that here represented—moreover, by no possibility could the cap of maintenance symbolize a poet's fame.

So much for the 'emblems' on which Mr. Mallock relies for his new Baconian 'facts.' But there are one or two incidental points in his article which it is impossible to pass over in silence, since they illustrate with singular clearness the methods of argument to which he is driven to resort. At one point of his discourse it becomes necessary to connect Bacon in some way or other with Florio's translation of Montaigne. Mr. Mallock conveniently finds that one Thomas Powell dedicated a small legal volume called 'The Attorney's Academy' to Bacon¹ as 'Beholden To no Mountaine for Eminence.' I should hardly have myself supposed it necessary to see in this an allusion to Montaigne (or 'Mountaine,' as he is called in the explanatory verses to the 1632 'Essays'), nor that

¹ It was published, says Mr. Mallock, 'four years after Bacon's death,' but he seems in no wise disturbed at this. The fact is, of course, that the edition of 1630 is a reprint, the work having originally appeared in 1623.

even so it followed that there was any connection between the two authors beyond the fact of their both having written essays. But this is not all. Mr. Mallock's quotation from the dedication is garbled. The original runs, in the quarto of 1623, 'To True Nobilitie and Tryde Learning, Beholden To no Mountaine for Eminence, nor Supportment for his Height, Francis, Lord Verulam, and Viscount st. Albanes.' By the omission of the parallel clause, Mr. Mallock is guilty of a *suppressio veri*, which, as is almost always inevitable, is at the same time a *suggestio falsi*.

One point more, and I have done. This time it is concerned with the alleged royal birth of Bacon, in support of which Mr. Mallock quotes some doggerel hexameters giving the sovereigns of England, which are inscribed on the wall of Canonbury Manor at Islington, where Bacon once lived. He quotes:

‘HENRICUS
OCTAVUS, POST HUNC EDW: SEXT, RE-
GINA MARIA
ELIZABETHA SOROR: SUCCEDIT FR . . .
JACOBUS.’

Then he adds, ‘With the exception of the first two letters, the word beginning with FR has been obliterated. What can this mutilated word stand for, unless it stands for Francis?’ Now in the first place the list goes on to mention Charles. It was therefore cut after the death of James, and so in all probability after that of Bacon, when it can have been nobody's interest to perpetrate any such in-

discretion. Secondly, supposing that we do read 'Franciscus' for the mutilated word, it gives no possible sense, since, whatever his rights may have been, Bacon certainly never occupied nor laid claim to the English throne. Thirdly, there is not the remotest reason for reading 'Franciscus.' The poetaster, as I take it, pressed alike for metre and for a Latin equivalent for 'cousin,' wrote 'frater'—'frater patruelis' is the full term, but the omission of the adjective is perfectly classical. Then some criticaster coming along remarked that James was not Elizabeth's brother and obliterated the word. The compiler of the verses in any case only scanned according to accent, but of the two my emendation violates classical rule the least.

Admirers of Mr. Mallock may possibly be inclined to regard his article as very pretty fooling, but it is nevertheless something disheartening to find it necessary to waste time pointing out wild misstatements of fact and exploding equally wild interpretations when the nature of both alike must have become apparent to Mr. Mallock had he condescended to examine the evidence for himself before rushing thus intrepidly into print.

WALTER W. GREG.

POSTSCRIPT.—In a further article, just received, three more title-pages are discussed, but the interpretations put forward are again utterly impossible, and this quite apart from the contentions they are made to support. Did space allow, it would not, I believe, be difficult to interpret the 'emblems' in a much more natural manner. Mr. Mallock is again repeatedly wrong on points of fact, but I have probably already said enough to show approximately how far his statements are to be trusted.

—W. W. G.

'THE TIMES' HISTORY OF THE WAR.



MR. AMERY has made a brilliant beginning in the great task he has set himself. If the remaining volumes of this work reach the standard of the two now issued, the story of the war will have been written in a way that will make any re-telling superfluous, at least until the generation that made and saw the war has passed away, and the turn of the philosophic historian comes, to give to the world 'the conclusion of the whole matter,' and set this struggle in its final place in the perspective of history.

In speaking of these volumes one cannot avoid superlatives. There is so much to praise, so little to criticise, nothing to condemn. And, though he describes himself only as its editor, the work is Mr. Amery's own. To him it owes its unity of style and treatment, its consistent point of view, and its lofty standpoint.

It may be objected that this history is the work of a strong partisan. Of course it is. Any man who knows or thinks anything about this war *must* be a strong partisan. Some centuries hence we may get a Hallam who will tell the story of the war without a shade of personal feeling or senti-

ment except the desire for absolute truth; but for anyone to set about such a task now would be merely futile. It is the bold expression of strongly-held opinions and keenly-felt sentiments that gives much of its attraction to this book. The writer who dismisses Mr. Gladstone as 'that gifted demagogue' is frankly a partisan; and his work goes to form a part—in this case, a valuable part—of the mass of evidence on which the final verdict of history will some day be pronounced.

There is no doubt that Mr. Amery has taken the wind out of Colonel Henderson's sails. The Official History will have the advantage of being written some time after the end of the war, and its author will doubtless have access to information denied to Mr. Amery, but we doubt if there will be any demand—except the purely professional one—for the official history after the 'Times' has once taken possession of the field. Perhaps it is just as well, for it is certain that no official historian would dare to speak his mind so freely and boldly as Mr. Amery does, when he feels it necessary to let light into dark places. For example, it will be interesting to compare the criticisms of the free lance and of the War Office scribe on Ian Hamilton's neglect to intrench Wagon Hill till after the 6th of January. Even now it is unpleasant to think what that neglect nearly entailed.

At first sight one is rather shy of Volume I. Nearly four hundred pages of the political history of South Africa! But so clear and bright is the style, so bold and frank are the judgements, so interesting is the evidence employed, that it carries

one on cheerfully to the end. Of course no Gladstonian, indeed no impartial reader, can fully agree with the 'Majuba' chapters. He may be entirely right, but it is just here that Mr. Amery seems to us to lose the historical point of view and become the mere partisan more than at any other point of his work. Again, in dealing with the attitude of the Colonial Office towards the 'native' question in the first half of the nineteenth century, Mr. Amery seems not to do justice to the motives of the home authorities. Here perhaps he has swung too far in the direction of the colonial view of the treatment of natives, and his carefulness deserts him when he says in one place that the Dutch farmers exterminated the Bushmen like vermin, and a few pages later would have us believe that charges of murdering natives brought against these same farmers were unfounded and malignant.

It is in his account of the political relations of England and the Transvaal after 1881 that Mr. Amery's greatest triumph is won. But of course it will not appeal to those who see in Mr. Kruger the virtuous simple-minded leader of a little people struggling only to preserve a peaceful pastoral independence.

The second volume contains the narrative of the war from its beginning up to the 'black week' of December, 1899. Perhaps its most striking characteristic is its unfaltering boldness of expression. When this fearless truth-telling is combined, as it is here, with careful investigation and sound judgement, the result is a work invaluable to the British people, whose worst danger at the present moment

IV.

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is the natural tendency to be utterly weary of the very name of the war, and so to lose its saving lessons. He will not allow us to sink back in our easy chairs, and say, 'After all, we muddled through, and the War Office didn't do so badly.' Soothing echoes are in our ears: '6,000 miles of sea!' '300,000 men!' 'No other power in the world!' Mr. Amery relentlessly awakens other echoes not so soothing which the weary Titan would fain forget—'Unmounted men preferred!' 'Christmas in Pretoria!'

At the same time it must be admitted that Mr. Amery occasionally exaggerates in his criticism. His introductory chapter comparing the rival military systems—in many ways the best thing of the kind we have read—is unfair to the Army of 1899. His picture of the peace-training of the home army is too highly coloured, and sometimes verges on caricature. After roundly condemning the principles of Aldershot training he praises enthusiastically the results of that very training as shown by Hildyard's Brigade at Colenso. He really seems to believe that there was a strong school of English tacticians who believed in a close order attack against breech-loading fire. There is nothing to justify such a belief in the history of the army since 1870. Colonel Maude is *not* a school. He is an isolated phenomenon. This serious misapprehension is curiously illustrated by his statement on p. 184 that the normal frontage of seven companies in the firing line according to Aldershot principles was 225 yards!

The fact is that Mr. Amery strikes us as having

only begun the study of modern tactics at the end of 1899.

Nevertheless we have seen nothing better than Mr. Amery's account of the campaign and its actions. His battle-pieces are models of clearness, and they are illuminated by the excellent plans which accompany them.

We look forward with the keenest anticipation to the forthcoming volumes. We have had Mr. Amery's verdict on Ladysmith and the 'Black Week,' and we are abundantly satisfied with it. If Spion Kop and Paardeburg are as good, the author will be assured of triumph.

M.

THE GUILDHALL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.¹



EARLY five centuries ago, and a quarter of a century after the death of the poet Chaucer, the Guildhall Library found its first home, through the liberality of Sir Richard Whittington and William Bury, on a site adjoining the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen and All Saints at the Guildhall.

Of William Bury, one of the founders, nothing is known beyond the statement of Stow that his initials W. and B. appeared in the stonework on one side of the library. Of his more famous colleague, Sir Richard Whittington, it may be truly said that his praise is in every mouth. He is the one Lord Mayor who has been exalted to the dignity of a nursery hero. That he was a man of the highest culture is proved by his foundation of this library and of the sister library at the Greyfriars, afterwards Christ's Hospital.

Whittington is fittingly commemorated in the large window at the east end of the Guildhall Library, and in the Museum we have a still more interesting record of him, a small sculptured stone bequeathed to the Corporation by Canon Lysons, his biographer. It represents this City worthy as a

¹ The substance of a lecture delivered in December, 1902.

boy holding a cat, thus giving some support to the nursery legend. The stone was found in Gloucestershire, near Whittington's house, and its early date suggests that the legend was believed, if not in his lifetime, at all events soon after his death.

One other curious picture of Whittington has come down to us. This is an illustration in the ordinances of Whittington's college for five chaplains and thirteen poor men, which he committed to the care of the Company of Mercers. Whittington is represented on his deathbed surrounded by his executors, a physician, a priest, and twelve of the poor almsmen. Alderman John Coventry stands by the bedside at the head, and next him the shorter figure of John Carpenter, the famous Common Clerk, compiler of 'Liber Albus' and founder of the City of London School. John Carpenter not only carried out the testamentary provisions of his friend Sir Richard Whittington, but, by his own will, left at the discretion of his executors any good or rare books which 'may seem necessary to the Common Library at Guildhall for the profit of the students there, and those discoursing to the common people,' directing that such books should be chained in the library, that the visitors and students thereof may be the sooner admonished to pray for his soul.

The library thus established was a separate building of two floors, and was attached to the collegiate chapel of St. Mary at the Guildhall, one of the four priests of which acted as keeper of the library.

The earliest librarian of whom any record exists was John Clipstone, priest, who presented a quaint

petition to the Court of Aldermen on the 14th July, 1444, setting forth the great attendance and charge which he hath with the library, and praying to be assured of his 'lyfode, housyng and easement of the gardyn, which he hath for that occupation atte this day, that he be not hereafter put away therefrom, ne noo part thereof.' After weighing the great diligence and merits of the petitioner, the Court favourably considered his request. He died in 1457, and was buried in the Guildhall Chapel.

The library attracted many other gifts, and had a flourishing existence for 125 years, when it fell a prey to the rapacity of the notorious Duke of Somerset, uncle to King Edward VI. Stow relates that the books were sent for by this nobleman, with a promise that they should be restored shortly, but they were never returned. Shortly afterwards the building was granted on lease to Sir John Ayleph, the keeper of Blackwell Hall, to be used as a common market house for the sale of cloth.

The site of Guildhall Chapel is shown on John Ogilby's map of 1677; it does not appear to have suffered much from the Great Fire. The old library may have been situated immediately behind, and to the east of the chapel which Blackwell Hall adjoined on the south. The Chapel survived as the Court of Requests until the early part of the last century, but the library was in all likelihood demolished not long after its disestablishment in 1550. It was probably fitted up on the stall system, of which the contemporary library of Merton College, Oxford, affords so interesting an example.

It is quite possible that the priests of the Guild-

hall College, especially the Keeper of the Library, employed themselves in multiplying copies of manuscripts, and that a Scriptorium existed at the Guildhall. Of the books which this old library possessed, no certain information exists. Those mentioned in Carpenter's will were almost entirely of a religious and moral character.

The first Guildhall Library, had it continued its existence to the present day, would have been not only the oldest, but probably the richest and most extensive in this country. The Bodleian Library dates its new foundation only from the year 1602, whilst our great national collection at the British Museum was not established for a century and a half still later.

Of the priceless manuscripts and early printed books contained in this library, which had a flourishing existence for a century and a quarter, not one volume is known to be preserved, nor even a catalogue which might give a clue to a successful search; but since honest John Clipstone and his priestly successors doubtless took care to inscribe every volume with the name of the library, there is room for hope that some may yet be discovered, possibly among the manuscript stores of some other library.

From the year 1550 to 1824 is a very long step, but it was not until the latter year that the Corporation took measures to re-establish their library. The second founder was Mr. Richard Lambert Jones, an eminent citizen in his day, upon whose motion the Court of Common Council appointed a special committee to establish a library in the

Guildhall to contain all matters relating to the City of London, Borough of Southwark, and the County of Middlesex. A permanent library committee was subsequently appointed of which Mr. R. L. Jones became chairman, and he continued to hold that position until his death in 1842.

The new library did not start under such favourable auspices as its predecessor; no wealthy citizen came forward to follow Lord Mayor Whittington's example in building a 'fayre and large' house for its reception, no bequests of choice books aided its foundation, nor was its purpose that of serving the wants of students and the common people. It was in fact a departmental library stored with City lore for the use of the Corporation and its officers. For its home, obscure and unsuitable apartments were provided in the east wing of the Guildhall front, and these were approached by a dark and narrow staircase. Little wonder that a library so founded, little known and little used, pursued for many years an uneventful career. There were, however, some points in its favour. The condition of the book market was then favourable for the procural of old and scarce London books, private collectors being fewer than at present, and our American rivals not being then in the field.

The committee under their able chairman took full advantage of these opportunities, with the result that the basis was laid for a library of London literature, including manuscripts, printed books, maps, prints, and drawings, which cannot now be equalled in richness or extent. Among the earliest acquisitions was a complete set of the

'London Gazette' from its commencement in 1665. In 1843 the autograph signature of Shakespeare, attached to the purchase-deed of a house in Blackfriars, dated 10th March, 1612, was bought at a sale in Messrs. Evans' rooms in Pall Mall for £145. This was secured for the library in the first instance by the chairman, Mr. Jones, on his personal responsibility, the purchase being afterwards confirmed by the Court of Common Council. The mortgage deed of the same property, also bearing Shakespeare's signature, and dated the following day, was purchased by the British Museum in 1858 for £315. About this time another treasure was secured in the almost unique copy of Agas's Map of London in the time of Elizabeth.

The first librarian was Mr. William Upcott, whose services were engaged to arrange and catalogue the library. On the opening of the library apartments for use in 1828, Mr. William Herbert, the London historian, was appointed librarian, and he was succeeded in 1845 by Mr. William Turner Alchin. Mr. Alchin has left a monument of his skill and industry as a palaeographer in the splendid series of indexes to the records of the Corporation preserved in the custody of the Town Clerk. His work for the library was no less noteworthy.

In 1847 Mr. Philip Salomons presented a valuable collection of about four hundred Hebrew books. This was supplemented by a portion of the munificent bequest in 1873 left by his brother Alderman Sir David Salomons, Bart., which was devoted to the acquisition of books illustrating the history of the Jews in all countries. An excellent catalogue of

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these Hebraica and Judaica has been prepared by the Rev. Dr. Löwy.

In 1828, soon after the establishment of the library, a beginning was made for the collection of a civic museum. One of the earliest objects secured of the Roman period was the well-known group of the *Deae Matres*, which was found in Crutched Friars: the upper portion of these figures is unfortunately wanting. The fine stone monument erected by Anencletus to his wife Martina came from Ludgate Hill. Other additions were acquired from the discoveries made in the foundations of the General Post Office, New London Bridge, and the Guildhall Chapel. From the London Bridge improvements came the sign of the famous Shakespearian tavern, the Boar's Head in Eastcheap, which stood on the site of King William IV.'s statue.

Mr. Alchin died in 1865, and was succeeded in the office of librarian by my immediate predecessor, Mr. W. H. Overall. Four years later, in 1869, the Court of Common Council decided, upon the motion of the late Dr. Sedgwick Saunders, to build for the Guildhall Library and Museum a home more worthy of their value and importance. The contrast afforded by the two buildings will be appreciated when it is said that the site of the old library of 1824 occupied only the narrow passage from the Guildhall porch, lying between the wall of the Guildhall and the present Art Gallery—the site, in fact, of the corridor leading to the new library.

The step so boldly taken by the Corporation was fully justified by its success. The old apartments, which would barely accommodate at one

time twenty-five readers, who were admitted by ticket, gave place to the present library and museum designed by the late Sir Horace Jones, and seating more than one hundred and fifty readers, which was erected at an expense to the Corporation of £25,000. No portion of this substantial sum, or of the charges for annual maintenance and purchase of books, has ever fallen upon the City ratepayers. Admission to the library, newspaper-room, and museum was made free without any ticket or recommendation of any kind, and the yearly attendance of readers and visitors rose at once from 14,316 in 1868, the last year of the old library, to 192,716 in 1875, the first complete year of the new. It would be pleasant to describe some of the features of interest in the new library, its increased staff, extended hours of opening, card catalogues, appliances and methods of administration; but the remaining space at my disposal must be devoted to a mention of a few of its notable possessions, acquired by gift and purchase.

Both the library and the museum are rich in illustrations of the history of London. The beautiful French manuscript known as the '*Chronica Franciae*' belongs to the year 1399; among its many other fine miniatures, one represents the coronation of Charlemagne. Stow, the London historian, who largely used its pages, speaks of it as the 'great French book.' From the reign of Elizabeth we have in the library the '*Liber Fleetwood*,' a manuscript compilation of City Law made by William Fleetwood, the Recorder of

London. It is notable for its beautiful specimens of heraldic art, representing the arms of the aldermen who were Fleetwood's contemporaries. Among them is the coat of Sir Edward Osborn, ancestor of the Duke of Leeds, and hero of the famous leap from Old London Bridge. To the same reign belong the account of the Queen's progress through the City from the Tower to Westminster for her Coronation, and the earliest mayoralty pageant in the library, that of William Webb, Lord Mayor in 1591. This was composed by George Peele, the dramatist. Of later pageants of this kind I may mention that of Sir Thomas Middleton, Lord Mayor in 1613, written by his namesake, Thomas Middleton the dramatist, and the pageant of Sir John Leman, which is of especial interest, as the drawings of the different shows are preserved at Fishmongers' Hall, and were reproduced by that Company in a handsome folio volume, giving a full description of the pageant. Of course among the shows we find a lemon-tree, as a pun on the name of the mayor. Another page gives us a figure of Sir William Walworth, a noted member of the Fishmongers' Company, and another a fishing busse or boat, to represent the Company's craft.

Among seventeenth-century London books, some of which are very quaintly illustrated, we have 'The Bell-Man of London,' by Thomas Dekker, written in 1616; a curious description of the visit of Charles I. on his return from Scotland in 1641; Ogilby's account of Charles II.'s accession; the Bills of Mortality for 1665, with their ghastly story of the ravages of the Plague, when in one week

(September 12th-19th), 7,165 deaths were directly attributed to it; five folio manuscript volumes of Surveys, taken by Oliver and Mills, the City's surveyors, after the Great Fire of 1666; and (among the prints) Wren's plans for rebuilding the City, plans which, had they been adopted, would have saved the ratepayers some millions spent on widening the City thoroughfares; a little London Directory for 1677, which gives an object lesson in the vast increase of the metropolis when we compare it with the bulky volume now issued every year; Sandford's 'Account of the Coronation of James II.,' in one of the pictures of which the Lord Mayor's position in the ceremony at the Abbey is duly shown; illustrations of fairs held on the Thames during great frosts, and more miscellaneous treasures than I can name. I should mention, however, that it is with the year 1660 that there begins an interesting volume containing the arms and signatures of the Lord Mayors of London from that date down to the present day, that of Wilkes among the rest. Another relic connected with the office of Lord Mayor dates only from the mayoralty of Sir Reginald Hanson in 1887, the Sovereign's sign-manual to the notice of the daily pass-word at the Tower of London, which, by a custom not generally known, the Lord Mayor receives every quarter.

The last work connected with London which I shall mention is a unique copy of 'The Recreations of Zigzag,' by a well-known antiquary of the last century, John Wykeham Archer. It was originally published in parts, only a few of which

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appeared, and this copy is made up of proofs and manuscript additions, with a specially printed title-page and many original drawings. The work deals in a delightful way with the author's rambles in the northern parts of London along the course of the river Fleet.

The museum like the library has been so enriched with the purchases and gifts of the past seventy-five years that it is impossible to give anything like a proper description, even by way of sample, of the treasures which it contains. These consist principally of two classes—those of the period of the Roman occupation, and those of a much later period, beginning with the sixteenth century. Some other objects in sparse quantity lie outside these periods, but it is a remarkable fact that the history of London, as exhibited in the museum, shows practically a blank of nearly one thousand years. Many of the arts which existed in their perfection in Roman times are met with in the early Tudor period in a rudimentary state. For instance, in the museum may be found decorated Samian ware and a mould for making it, gracefully shaped amphorae or wine jars, and examples of Roman glass of equally beautiful shape. Turning to the ceramic art of mediaeval London, we find the vessels characterized, not by their beauty, but by the grotesqueness and crudity of their design. The funeral customs of Roman London can be well illustrated. Many forms were in use. That of burial has left us the fine stone sarcophagus found at Clapton, with a bust of the deceased and an illegible description. A more

common custom was cremation, the charred bones being inclosed in an urn of glass or pottery. In the museum are two examples of glass urns (one of them nearly full of bones) found in Moorfields. There are also examples of a less usual practice, in which the cinerary urn was inclosed in the body of an amphora from which the neck and handles had been removed.

In the famous Roman gravel pit discovered on the site of the Royal Exchange, many fragile objects were found which have not been met with either at all or in the same numbers in other parts of the City. Among them was an interesting wooden writing tablet with its surface slightly hollowed for the wax on which the letter was written. The 'styli' or blunt pens with which the characters were formed are frequently found, both in metal and bone, on most Roman sites. The examples of Roman shoe leather in which the museum is so rich were chiefly obtained from the Royal Exchange. These may be compared with the extraordinary foot gear of early mediaeval London. Close by, in Bucklersbury, was found the beautiful Roman pavement which is our chief archaeological treasure. A group of objects, chiefly Roman, and so various as to form in themselves an epitome of the museum, were found under the National Safe Deposit Company's premises in Queen Victoria Street, and are shown in one case. From two bastions of London Wall came a large collection of Roman sculptured stones.

But I must now turn to mediaeval London, and may first mention an interesting class of objects

known as pilgrim signs, in which the museum is very rich. These religious symbols largely relate to London's early patron saint, Thomas of Canterbury, known during his lifetime as Thomas à Becket. The social habits of Londoners in former days are illustrated by a collection of leather black-jacks and costrels. At a later date the wine was fetched from the vintner's in stone bottles popularly known as Bellarmines or Grey Beards, some of which are elaborately decorated. They were in use for quite two hundred years. Drinking and smoking are naturally associated. The museum collection of tobacco pipes shows several interesting specimens with makers' marks, and the gradual evolution of the pipe, from the specimens with small bowls to some which closely resemble the churchwarden of the present day. The leather bottle, of which we have just mentioned some examples, has always been a favourite tavern sign. The museum has a specimen from the house at the corner of Leather Lane, Holborn. Another favourite sign, that of the Three Kings, was chiefly used by mercers, who obtained their thread from Cologne, where the Magi were said to have been buried. Of the Bull and Mouth Tavern, in St. Martin-le-Grand, we have two interesting signs, one from Endell Street, and the other from the front of the Queen's Hotel, which bears the curious inscription of Milo the 'Cretonian.' These are but samples of many more of their class to be found in the museum, and I would here put in a plea for the preservation of various other old signs now existing in London, which may, if not looked

after, fall into unsuitable hands instead of being preserved, as I venture to say they should be, in the Guildhall Museum.

The two famous figures of Raving and Melancholy Madness, which were formerly placed over the gateway of old Bedlam, were carved by Caius Gabriel Cibber, who also executed the allegorical sculpture on the Monument. This is now so weather-beaten as to be hardly distinguishable, and the details afforded by a contemporary print show the value of a collection of engravings for enshrining the memory of the past in a manner more durable than the stone itself.

Lastly, I would mention that among the collections in the museum is one comprising the various badges and medals worn by the Masters, Wardens and other officials of the City Livery Companies. Most of these valuable and interesting objects have been presented by the Companies themselves. Thus we have a complete set of their medals presented by the Farriers' Company.

Having thus roughly indicated some of the individual objects in the library and museum which illustrate the history of the City of London, I may mention a few of the special collections which the library contains. My remarks must, I fear, be limited to a simple enumeration of them. The library of the Dutch Protestant Church in Austin Friars was deposited here when the church was burnt some forty years since. The Clockmakers' Company have deposited not only their valuable library, but also their horological specimens, mostly made by members of the company. The Gardeners'

Company have presented and maintain a collection of books on their delightful art, and the Cooks' Company and a few other guilds have followed the same liberal course. The series of London maps, prints and drawings has been already mentioned. Among other rarities is the fine view of London by Hollar, taken in 1646, before the Great Fire, which shows the houses of the nobility on the south side of the Strand, while towering above and beyond are seen the northern heights of London. There is also a large gathering of the ancient records of the City wards and parishes invaluable to the student of London history, for which the library is largely indebted to the untiring zeal of Mr. Deputy White. Minute books of old London clubs have also been presented, among others those of the Court of Equity, which held its meetings at La Belle Sauvage Inn. The Alfred Cock collection of the works of, and books relating to Sir Thomas More was presented by public subscription.

Of notable acquisitions by purchase I can only mention a few. The fine English missal of the beginning of the fifteenth century once belonged to the church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate. A very elaborate copy of Thomson's 'Chronicles of London Bridge,' inlaid, interleaved and illustrated, has extended that little duodecimo to a huge work in five great quarto volumes. Another Grangerized work is the beautiful copy of Lysons' 'Environs of London,' enriched with many water-colour drawings and old prints, and beautiful heraldic illuminations painted on the margin of the page. Clarke's 'Life of Nelson' is a book similarly treated with portraits,

finely executed, of Nelson's captains and other notable personages of the period. From the library of the late Major Alfred Heales many fine liturgical works and manuscripts were secured. One book of more modern date deserves special mention, the splendid pictorial representation of the coronation of George IV. in 1820.

It was my wish to have spoken upon the special information which the library can supply to various classes of students and others, but my space is nearly exhausted and I must substitute a cordial invitation to all those whom my remarks may reach to come and see for themselves. Admission to the library is entirely free on the simple condition of signing the visitors' book. The hours of opening are from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. daily, and till 6 o'clock on Saturdays. It is satisfactory to be able to say that the facilities thus offered are not neglected. Notwithstanding the multiplication of libraries in the great suburbs of London the taste for reading and research seems to grow with its exercise, and the number of real students who frequent the Guildhall Library is larger now than at any previous period.

I have reserved for the last the mention of a few notable gifts and bequests. From Pope Leo XIII. we received, through Cardinal Manning, a volume of special interest prepared as a gift to His Holiness by the staff of the Vatican Library. It has been honoured by the Library Committee with a special binding—an ancient design beautifully produced in gold upon vellum—which does credit to the binders to the library, by whom it was executed. Her late Majesty Queen Victoria presented an

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account of the Albert Memorial, with her autograph inscription. The recent bequest by Dr. Willshire of his library and collection of prints illustrating the history of the art of engraving is an accession of which any library might be proud.

The subject of desiderata is one to which many pages might be devoted; but it may not be out of place to mention that the City of London does not contain a copy of the works of its eminent citizen Geoffrey Chaucer, either in the beautiful modern edition from the Kelmscott Press of William Morris, or, in their still choicer form, as printed by an eminent City apprentice, William Caxton. I know that Caxtons now fetch £10 a page, but I am not without hope that it may occur to some generous citizen ere long to supply so notable a gap in the City Library.

We have journeyed together through the history of the Guildhall Library for four hundred and seventy-seven years, and many of my readers will doubtless live to see the 500th anniversary of its first foundation celebrated in 1925. May I venture to prophesy that that year will find the library fully equipped for the great position which it must surely be destined to take of ministering to the wide and ever-increasing needs of every legitimate inquirer and earnest student, no matter what may be the object of his search? The Corporation of this City have done their part nobly and well, it is for the citizens of the great metropolis to see to it that the library of the City of London shall be worthy in all respects of its distinguished function of ministering to the literary needs of the greatest city in the world.

CHARLES WELCH.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.



ENGLISH Reviews pay such scant attention to German literature that perhaps both readers and librarians may be willing to accept a few brief notes on some of the more important books in the various departments of literature that have recently appeared in Germany.

Excellent new editions of all the great writers are being issued. The eminent publishing firm of Cotta are bringing out an edition of Goethe in forty volumes. That firm published the first collected edition of Goethe's works in 1806, and it is hoped that this, which is to be known as the Jubilee edition, will be completed by 1906, just a century after the first. The editor is Eduard von der Heller, and he has enlisted some of the most renowned of contemporary German critics to write the introductions that preface each volume. The new edition of Lachmann's 'Lessing,' revised and enlarged by Franz Muncker, is approaching completion. The sixteenth volume, the last published, contains the sketches and unfinished writings, and the volumes to follow will give the letters that passed between Lessing and his friends. A word of praise is due to German editors for their excellent custom of including, whenever it is possible, the letters written to as well as those written by

the great man who is the subject of the book. When his correspondents, as is most often the case, are themselves persons of distinction and interest, no better reading is anywhere to be found, and all students of psychology know how much is to be learned of a man's character from the letters written to him.

A fine edition of Kant is appearing under the auspices of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. It will consist of from twenty-two to twenty-five volumes, each of which can, if desired, be purchased separately. It is divided into four divisions. In the first are the works, including everything of Kant's that has been printed, from the least to the greatest, in chronological order. The first volume is just out. The text is based on the original edition, or, where there were several published during the author's life, on the last in which the changes were most probably warranted by Kant himself. Introductions, notes, and alternative readings are placed at the end of each volume. The second division is to include the correspondence, of which three volumes (forming Vols. X., XI., XII. of the whole work) have already appeared. They contain, among others, letters from Kant to King Frederick II., Herder, Lichtenberg, Schiller, Wieland and Lavater, and letters to Kant from such men as Moses Mendelssohn, Solomon Maimon and Fichte. The third and fourth divisions will contain respectively the manuscript remains and the lectures. A commission of the Academy, with Wilhelm Dilthey as president, and Max Heinze and Erich Schmidt among the members, is responsible for the

execution of the work, which has been in preparation since 1894. The only previous collected edition of Kant of any merit was that of Hartenstein, published in 1867-8.

Side by side with these elaborate editions, capital cheap series are also available. There is the 'Handbibliothek' of the Cotta firm, an entirely new undertaking, which is to include the chief works of German and foreign *belles lettres*. We notice such authors as Goethe, Lessing, Grillparzer, and especially welcome Schack's translation of Omar Khayyám. Schack, as man and author, deserves to be better known both in and out of Germany, and with judicious editing an English translation of his memoirs should be well worth a publisher's consideration. Max Hesse (Leipzig) is also offering cheap editions of the classics, with introductions by accredited scholars. The general get-up of these series is a vast improvement on the older German methods of book presentment. If we can learn many things from Germany, Germany, in that department at least, has learnt much from us.

Fromman's 'Classics of Philosophy' is another series of excellent, carefully planned and clearly written volumes, valuable to the student and also possessing attractions for the general reader. The editor is Richard Falckenberg of Erlangen. The volume on Kierkegaard, the great Danish philosopher, from the pen of the eminent scholar, Prof. Höffding of Copenhagen, who is also responsible for the 'Rousseau' in the same series, has a special value, because, so far as we know, no account of Kierkegaard is available in English. Herbert

Spencer, Carlyle, J. S. Mill, Kant, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche are among the philosophers included. Another series of equal value deals with the literatures of the East. The volumes are written by learned scholars like Dr. Paul Horn of Strassburg, who undertakes the literatures of Persia, and of modern Turkey, and by Dr. Wilhelm Grube of Berlin, who is responsible for the literature of China. The series when complete will cover all those Oriental nations—using the term in its broadest sense—that possess a literature.

In this brief survey we cannot do justice to the historical works that belong to recent German literature. We may just mention that the latest volumes of the '*Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte*'—one of the most valuable and important historical publications in Europe—are by Carl Uhlig, and deal with the German Empire under Otho II. and Otho III. No historical library worthy the name can afford to be without these '*Jahrbücher*.' One of the most notable of recently published historical works is Ernst Schäfer's '*Contributions to the History of Spanish Protestantism and the Inquisition in the Sixteenth Century*,' based on original papers at Madrid and Simancas. It is the first time that these original documents have been either wholly or partially translated, and they throw much new, curious and valuable light on the doings of the Inquisition. Those interested in the conditions of historical composition should not neglect to read the admirable pamphlet on the '*Theory and Method of History*,' just published by Prof. Eduard Meyer of Berlin. We wish we had space

enough to give a full analysis of the little treatise. But it ought at once to be turned into English, and made accessible to every historical student. Meyer regards history as no systematic science, declares that its first task is the discovery of facts, touches on the inter-relations of history and biography, and ends by asserting that the one perfect historian to be imitated by all is Thucydides.

In biography Leo Koenigsberger's 'Life of Hermann von Helmholtz,' the famous physicist, is the most important recent production. The first volume (the second is to follow shortly) is eminently satisfactory. The judicious use of the letters put at the biographer's disposal has resulted in an excellent portrait of the man, side by side with a full and interesting account of his scientific work.

The many excellent series dealing with the less known periods and writers of our own literature deserve the attention of librarians and others. Very often they contain information that is not to be found elsewhere, and are thus invaluable to students. For instance, in the 'Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie' may be found admirable editions of the poems of Alexander Montgomerie and of Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Lydgate's lyrics, and of Heywood's dramas. In the 'Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik,' Dr. Trautmann, the general editor, has given us the best edition of Cynewulf's poems, with the necessary introductions and notes, and he promises shortly a similar edition of the old English poem, 'Beowulf.' The 'Anglistische Forschungen,' edited by Dr. Johannes Hoops of Heidelberg, contain both philological and literary essays. The

latest by Eugen Borst is philological—'Die Gradadverbien im Englischen'; but former ones have dealt with Sir Samuel Garth and his relations to the burlesque epic, and with Byron and Wordsworth. Series that exist for the sake of researches into old German mythology have less interest for English people, but the 'Balder' of Dr. Friedrich Kauffmann of Kiel is valuable to all students of the history of religion, because the author strikes, we think, the right note in applying the strictly historical method to mythology.

It can be hardly necessary to refer to that capital publication, the 'Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen,' known as it is to every librarian in the kingdom; and, wonderful to relate, often giving news and interesting facts about our own libraries that do not seemingly otherwise get into print. The 'Beihefte' (supplementary numbers) are always full of bibliographical interest. The last number attempts, with a large measure of success, to reconstruct from such information as remains the old Benedictine Library of Fulda. The catalogue of manuscripts, made in the sixteenth century, is printed, and some space is devoted to the men who probably used the library, among them being Froben, the famous printer of Bâle and the friend of Erasmus.

It is perhaps in the region of *belles lettres*, and especially in drama, that the most distinctive work in recent German literature is to be found. To take only a few examples, Sudermann in 'Es lebe das Leben,' Hauptmann in 'Der arme Heinrich,' Schnitzler in 'Lebendige Stunden,' have added

considerably to their already great and deserved reputations as literary artists and as dramatists. In Germany plays are published as soon as (and sometimes even before) they are acted, and they sell in thousands and tens of thousands.¹ Thus modern German drama occupies some space on library shelves, and with reason. For apart from its literary merit and interest, apart from its excellence of technique, apart from its admirable interpretation by German actors, modern German drama deals not only with the eternal problems of human life, but with every phase of contemporary thought and manners in Germany. The subjects used by the dramatists embrace the ultra-glorification of the Hohenzollerns,² the rights and wrongs of women,³ the vexed question of divorce,⁴ the relations of capital and labour,⁵ educational problems,⁶ military life,⁷ bureaucracy, with its effect on the petty official and on the lower classes,⁸ journalistic enterprise, good and bad,⁹ and the relation of the artist to his work.¹⁰ Such books have immense

¹ By the end of 1900 forty-four thousand copies of Hauptmann's 'Sunken Bell' (produced 1896) had been sold.

² Cf. any of the plays of Ernst von Wildenbruch.

³ Cf. Sudermann's 'Heimat'; Halbe's 'Mütter Erde'; Ernst Rosmer's 'Dämmerung'; Dreyer's 'In Behandlung.'

⁴ Cf. Hauptmann's 'Friedenfest'; Hirschfeld's 'Mütter,' and 'Agnes Jordan.'

⁵ Cf. Hauptmann's 'Weber.'

⁶ Cf. Dreyer's 'Probekandidat,' and Ernst's 'Flachsmann als Erzieher.'

⁷ Cf. Hartleben's 'Rosenmontag.'

⁸ Cf. Hauptmann's 'Biberpelz,' and 'Rothe Hahn.'

⁹ Cf. Ernst's 'Gerechtigkeit,' and Schoenthan's 'Schwabenstreich.'

¹⁰ Cf. Hauptmann's 'Versunkene Glocke' and 'Michael Kramer,' and Schnitzler's 'Lebendige Stunden.'

value for students of psychology and of manners, and should therefore be made easily accessible wherever readers of them are likely to be found. The standard of contemporary German fiction is lower than that of drama. It is just the contrary in England, where at present the work of the novelist is infinitely superior to that of the dramatist. There is a curious tendency at this time in Germany to write novels after the fashion of Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister' and Keller's 'Grüne Heinrich.' Such novels as Wassermann's 'Die Geschichte der Jungen Renate Fuchs,' and Hollaender's 'Der Weg von Thomas Truck,' and Frenssen's 'Jörn Uhl' aim at being 'soul histories,' like their celebrated forerunners. 'Jörn Uhl' is the most notable of the three. It has had a phenomenal success, 70,000 copies having been sold since its publication in February of last year. Gustav Frenssen is a Protestant clergyman, and a native of the seacoast of Schleswig-Holstein. His 'home,' as the Germans say so prettily, forms the background of his novel, and he uses his material in a way never realized by his celebrated compatriots, Hebbel and Storm. Indeed, Frenssen may be regarded as the first epic poet of Schleswig-Holstein, and for his style he is somewhat indebted to Wilhelm Raabe. 'Jörn Uhl' is a thoughtful, serious book, and could only have come into being in Northern Germany. It is a story of toil and labour in which the striver finds his true self in the Christian ideal of self-humiliation. The encroaching, all-devouring sea, the melancholy that broods over the barren land at which men toil pain-

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fully for small results; the still, uneventful lives of the peasants and small farmers—unpromising as such material sounds—arrest our attention, under Frenssen's treatment, and he reveals to us a wise and tolerant philosophy of life, scarcely conceivable by those who dwell amid the rush and hurry of big cities.

ELIZABETH LEE.

NOTES ON BOOKS AND WORK.

TO OUR FRIENDS. The announcement in our last number that it was proposed to discontinue 'The Library,' on account of the difficulty of obtaining enough contributions of the kind we care to publish, evoked sufficient expressions of regret and promises of increased support to alter our decision. We are encouraged by such promises to hope that our difficulties may be lighter, but these difficulties arise too much from our own deliberate choice for us to entertain any expectation that they will disappear. From the outset we have been content with no programme less wide than that which our name covers. We have taken equal pleasure in publishing the notes of Mr. Proctor on points in the early history of printing; Mr. Plomer's discoveries as to the history of the King's Printing House under the Stuarts, and the secret story of the Edinburgh edition of the *Arcadia*; Mr. Giles's investigations into the authorship of '*Les Matinées du Roi de Prusse*'; Mr. Greg's paper on how far the peculiarities of the original editions should be reproduced in reprinting old plays; Mr. Pollard's articles on early illustrated books, and Miss Sketchley's on modern ones; Mr. Davenport's descriptions of rare bindings; the articles, so full of practical hints, by Mr. Crunden, on 'What one American Library is

doing'; Mr. Brown's remarks on descriptive cataloguing; Mr. Ballinger's on the terms of admission to British Public Libraries, and the contributions with which Messrs. Doubleday, Jast and Minto, and other librarians have favoured us. We name these typical articles dealing with the historical, literary, and artistic aspects of bibliography, and with the librarian's craft, because these concrete instances illustrate our aims better than much description, and show that they have not been unfulfilled. The pleasure of having published such contributions in one and the same magazine is, indeed, our only reward for much hard work. We are quite aware that we have done it to our own damage; that there are librarians who resent the inclusion of literary and antiquarian articles, and would like the magazine to be wholly 'practical' and produced in the cheapest possible form; and again, that there are bookmen and bibliographers who take it as a personal offence that the librarians, to whose research work they owe at least half their knowledge of old books, should be such dull fellows as to care about the advancement and interest of their own craft. If this magazine were published from any desire for profit, we should make our choice to-morrow between these rival interests and stick to one of them. As it is, we propose to peg away on the same lines as heretofore. We will not undertake to say of bibliographers or librarians which we regard as lions and which as lambs. Nevertheless, the hope that we may help to persuade lion and lamb to take a friendlier interest in each other's pursuits is our

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main object in continuing publication, and we trust that our contributors will help us to fulfil it.

In resuming our task we can unhappily no longer count on the co-operation of Dr. Karl Dziatzko, whose premature death, on the eve of completing his sixty-first year, will make librarians, all the world over, feel that they have lost a master of their craft. In the first volume of this new series 'The Library' gave a portrait and memoir of Dr. Dziatzko, to which we have nothing new to add. Those who are unacquainted with his career will find there briefly set forth the evidence on which we recognize the man whose studies of Plautus and Terence are acclaimed by all classical scholars, who reformed the rules of cataloguing in German libraries, and trained many of the best librarians by whom they are now carried out, and who investigated, on entirely new lines, the problems of the Gutenberg Bible, as one of the very highest exponents in practice of the ideal which, however unworthily, we yet claim as our own.

ED.

Before starting on his tour in America, Mr. Sidney Lee had the satisfaction of witnessing the completion of the Oxford collotype facsimile of the First Folio Shakespeare, a fine reproduction to which he has lent additional importance by his bibliographical introduction and very interesting 'census' of the 156 extant copies, or fragments of copies, which, after much investigation, he has been able to trace. Sir Truman Wood in a letter to the Literary Supplement to 'The Times,'

seemed to think that the fact that this new facsimile has been made by collotype instead of photolithography, as in previous cases, is a matter of small importance. But unless I am misinformed there is this essential difference between the processes, namely, that in photolithography it is quite possible to touch up a blurred negative when placed on the stone, and therefore quite possible to touch it up wrongly and turn one letter into another. In collotype, on the other hand, when the negative is once transferred to the gelatine surface, no touching up is possible. If this be so, this is the first facsimile of which the process itself is its own guarantee, a really important point.

Turning to Mr. Lee's Introduction, among the matters which may be there found elucidated more successfully than before are the obstacles placed in the way of the Folio editors by the iniquitous system which gave the printers of stolen copies of separate plays a complete copyright in them; the carelessness with which the editors did their work; the way in which the typographical peculiarities of the edition, as a whole, and also of some single copies of it, can have been brought about, and the absence of any uniform system of spelling. In the 'Census of Copies' Mr. Lee traces the history of the First Folio in the Sale Room from 1756, when a copy sold for three guineas, to July, 1901, when the record price of £1,720 was paid at Christie's. In his classification, out of 156 extant copies, he recognizes only fourteen as in 'good unrestored condition.' Of these four are in public and six in private ownership in Great Britain, and

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two in public and two in private ownership in the United States.

Several very interesting show-cases, full of specimens of fine printing, handwriting, and book-binding, have been arranged at the 'Arts and Crafts' Exhibition, now open at the New Gallery. Though interesting, however, the exhibition, as far as printing is concerned, is not exciting, for the windows of a shop which Messrs. Brown and Langham have lately opened just opposite the British Museum (as if for the special undoing of impecunious bookmen), have already tempted me with most of the pretty books here shown. In both printing and binding the chief honours this year rest with Mr. Cobden Sanderson, shared in the case of printing with his partner in the 'Doves Press,' Mr. Emery Walker, and in the case of binding with his old pupil, Mr. Douglas Cockerell, who has helped to spread his influence in many binderies. The Doves' Press 'Paradise Lost,' in one of the simpler red morocco bindings by Mr. Sanderson or Mr. Cockerell, seems to me as near an approach to 'the Ideal Book' as has ever been produced. In the modern manuscripts there are some pretty examples shown, notably those by Graily Hewitt. But despite high authority to the contrary, I think the day for producing manuscripts is past, and that it is impossible for them to be taken quite seriously.

A. W. P.

The American 'Library Journal' for October has some excellent remarks on 'Hours of Library Service' which we would commend to all managers and committees. Hard as it is when good work is rewarded with poor pay, it is abundantly true that 'improved hours are really more important than improved salaries in their relation to the assistant's work,' and that arrangements which prevent assistants from taking their meals at the same hours on any two consecutive days are not only oppressive, but also foolish. A strong constitution may stand long hours and irregular meals for several years, but a breakdown is inevitable, and then a trained librarian has to be replaced by an untrained one, or remains on the staff with his former efficiency halved. The same number contains an article by Mr. Tillinghast embodying an excellent set of rules for assistants, codified from traditional practice at Harvard College Library. The rules are reasonable and well thought out, and the lists of 'what is' and 'what is not' 'worth while' are especially good. Among 'things not worth while' is included adding to catalogues baptismal names which authors have never appended to their literary work, and we think that most librarians will be content to ignore them.

In the November 'Library Journal,' Miss Bacon has an amusing article on the 'perfections' expected of librarians to whom readers have access; Mr. Kent discusses the proper nature and quality of library book-plates, or rather identification labels; Mr. D. B. Hall, under the title of 'Library Rotation,' describes how about one hundred and fifty

books at a time may be specially brought under the notice of readers; Mr. Brandall shows how difficult it is to discover the official title of a government department, even in one's own country, and there are full descriptions of the Bodleian celebrations and the laying of the foundation stone of the New York Public Library.

The 'Bibliographer' for October gives an interesting account of the legal controversy as to the 'Columbus letter' sold by Mr. F. S. Ellis to Mr. Brayton Ives, and subsequently more than suspected of being a forgery. We believe that out of respect to Mr. Ellis's memory the suit has been settled since the article was written, but the question of the nature and duration of the guarantee supposed to be given with a book sold in all good faith was a very interesting one. In an article on 'Mother Goose,' Mr. Charles Welsh would convince bibliographers that most of John Newbery's little books for children issued from about 1765 to 1780 were the work of Oliver Goldsmith. Mr. Beverley Chew gives a collation and history of the 1645 edition of Waller's Poems, and Mr. French roundly condemns public ownership of books as likely to be fatal to their preservation. Of course, this is an illegitimate extension of any premiss now possible, but when we hear of 'one of the largest libraries of Cambridge (England)' allowing 'Caxtons and many almost unique volumes' to be 'grimy with dust' on unprotected shelves, we wish that Mr. French had given the name of the library and not left us to conjecture. In the following number of 'The Bibliographer' the alternative risks of private ownership

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are exposed by a writer using the initials R. P.; much space is devoted to the history of the Bodleian, and there is an important article of Mr. Ford's on the bibliography of the Journals of the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1715-1727.

In the December number of the 'Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen,' Karl Kochendörffer has an interesting article on the relation of copyright obligations in Germany to the trade in books and its customs; though local in detail, it is well worth reading on the general question.

Carl Wendel gives some interesting notes on the origins of the printing of music. He attributes the final simplification of the process of printing lines and notes with movable types in one movement to Pierre Hautin, and gives some account of the stages of the proof of this view, stating the share of the various investigators in the work, beginning with Anton Schmid of Vienna. The latter regarded Petrucci as the earliest music printer in general, Erhard Oeglin of Augsburg as the first in Germany. Pierre Hautin is named as the first in France; types cast by Hautin were used by other printers at earlier dates than his earliest work. The correction of these views by Friedrich Chrysander and others is then noticed; Chrysander especially dealt with Petrucci's predecessors. Herr Wendel names as an independent worker, side by side with, and ignorant of Chrysander's work, Alphonse Goovaerts. Mr. Squire's article in 'Bibliographica' is specially mentioned, and also Father Raphael Molitor's work because it proves that the Milan Missal of 1476 is

the earliest music printed like ordinary type. A special appeal is made to collators of very early printed books for a careful account of any small portions of music included in them, a branch of inquiry hitherto much neglected.

The last three numbers of the 'Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde' have been mainly occupied with a history of the art of engraving by Dr. Hans Singer. This is rather a digression for a magazine for book-lovers, but Dr. Singer's articles are so good that they are sure of a welcome. English amateurs will note with interest the great importance he attaches to the work of Mr. Strang.

A. W. P.; L. C. W.

At the end of this number is printed a long list of the libraries to which Mr. Carnegie has made donations. But we have also received from a Welsh correspondent a communication in which he regrets that Mr. Carnegie 'ties up his gifts with such awkward conditions that they are frequently rendered unavailable.' 'For instance':

'Mr. Carnegie offered a sum of £1,400 for the erection of library buildings at Pontardulais and Gorseinon, two small townships in Western Glamorganshire, where steel, tin, and chemicals are manufactured, and coal is mined. Both places are in the same parish, but there is a distance of nearly four miles between them. The populations are almost wholly of the working classes.

'The conditions upon which the money was given were (1) that each place should provide a free site, and (2) that both places should be able to raise by means of the penny rate under the Libraries Act sufficient money for maintenance purposes.

'The first condition was easily complied with. But when the amount realisable by the penny rate was calculated, it was found that it fell far short of the requirements for maintenance purposes. Hence it has been necessary to abandon the Carnegie offer.

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'In these circumstances the library committee at Gorseinon, acting upon the advice of Dr. Trafford Mitchell, resolved to raise about £500 with which to build a modest library. At a recent meeting Dr. Mitchell announced that his wife would give unconditionally the first £100 towards the fund, and that his three brothers-in-law, Major Lewis, Messrs. Thomas and Rufus Lewis, would each contribute a similar amount. Dr. Mitchell opined that the working men of the district would have no difficulty in gathering the final £100.

'The new building (to be erected upon a free site given by Major Lewis), will comprise reading rooms and an apartment for silent games, such as chess, draughts, dominoes, etc.

'The library committee, of which Dr. Mitchell is chairman, will be glad to receive from librarians and others hints and suggestions anent libraries for working men. Dr. Mitchell's address is:

'Argyle House,
'Gorseinon,
'S. Wales.

'At a later date presents of books, etc., will be acceptable.'

This is surely a very pleasant story of local enterprise, and one that deserves all possible encouragement.

Mr. W. B. Thorne asks us to state that his attention has been called to a strange error reproduced in his article in No. 12 from the note written by the late Mr. Talbot Baines Reed in his copy of the first Kelmscott edition of 'The Story of the Glittering Plain.' The note states that 'the types for this work were cast at the Fann Street Foundry from matrices produced from punches cut by French under Mr. Morris's personal inspection.' For 'French' Mr. Reed should have written 'E. P. Prince.'

MR. CARNEGIE'S GIFTS TO
LIBRARIES AND OTHER EDUCA-
TIONAL INSTITUTIONS, REVISED AND
BROUGHT DOWN TO NOVEMBER 30TH, 1902.

*Those marked * have been built by Mr. Carnegie, but are known as Public Libraries; those marked *† are also named after Mr. Carnegie.*

ENGLAND AND WALES.

Bideford	£1,600	London—	
Birmingham, Univer-		Battersea (Branches)	£15,000
sity	50,000	*Finsbury (Branches)	13,000
Branksome	2,000	Greenwich	10,000
*Brentford	5,000	Hammersmith	10,000
*Brierley Hill	2,000	Iron and Steel In-	
Buckley	1,500	stitute	13,000
Carlton	1,500	*Lambeth (Branch)	12,500
Cockermouth	1,000	*Lewisham (Branch)	9,000
Chadderton	5,000	(†) Marylebone (not	
Colwyn Bay	1,500	yet accepted)	30,000
Dalton-in-Furness	3,500	Paddington	15,000
Eastbourne	10,000	*Poplar (Branches)	15,000
East Ham	10,000	Woolwich	14,000
Fenton	5,000	Maidenhead	5,000
*Grays, Essex	3,000	Mansfield	3,500
*Hartlepool	5,000	Merthyr Tydvil	6,000
Haworth	1,500	Mold	1,500
*Ilkeston	6,500	Northampton	5,500
*Keighley	10,000	Rawtenstall	6,000
*Kettering	8,000	Rushden	2,000
*Kingston-on-Thames	3,000	Scunthorpe	1,500
Leicester	12,000	Selly Oak	3,000
Levensholme	2,500	Sheffield (Walkley)	2,000
Littleborough	2,500	Stirchley	3,000

MR. CARNEGIE'S GIFTS.

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Stratford-on-Avon	£ (?)	Wolverhampton	£10,000
Tracynon	1,500	Workington	7,500
Wakefield	8,000		<hr/>
			£376,100

IRELAND.

Banbridge	£1,000	Londonderry	£8,000
Belfast	15,000	Newtownards	100
Cork	50,000	Omagh	(?)
Fermoy	12,000	Waterford	5,000
Lorne	2,500		<hr/>
Limerick	7,000		£100,600

SCOTLAND.

Aberdeen, University	£50,000	Dumfermline Library	
Aberdeen	16,000		about £20,000
Annan	3,000	Dundee (and Branches)	40,000
Ardishaig	300	Edinburgh	60,000
*†Ayr	10,000	Eyemouth	400
Banff	1,000	Falkirk	500
Barry	8,000	Fochabers Village	1,500
Bonar	5,000	Galashiels, Technical	
Bonar Bridge	8,000	School	100,000
Bonnybridge	1,000	Glasgow	100,000
Callander	1,200	Grangemouth	1,100
Castle Douglas	2,000	Greenock	8,000
Clackmannan	1,200	Hawick	20,100
Coatbridge	15,000	Hamilton	100
Corserphine	1,000	Innellan	1,000
Creich	1,500	Innerleithen,	3,000
Cullen	150	Inverness	1,700
Dalkeith	4,000	Jedburgh	2,000
Denny	1,500	Johnstone	300
Dumfries	10,000	Kelso	3,000
Dunbeath	150	Kinning Park (Glasgow)	5,000
Dunblane	37,000	Kirkwall	100
Dunfermline, Tech-		Kyleakin	3,500
nical School	38,000	Larbert, Stirling	3,000
Dunfermline, Public		Linlithgow	(?)
Bath	10,000	Leanhead	1,200

MR. CARNEGIE'S GIFTS

Lockerbie	£2,000	Stornoway	£3,500
Lossiemouth	1,500	Stromness	250
Maxton, St. Boswell's	500	Tain	1,000
Montrose	(?)	Thurso	2,000
Motherwell, Town		Twynholm	100
Hall	10,000	Wick	3,000
Paisley	27,500	Scotch Universities,	
Partich (Glasgow)	10,000	endowment fund	
Peterhead	1,000	(Aberdeen, Edin-	
Portmahomack	800	burgh, Glasgow,	
Prestonpans	1,000	St. Andrews)	2,000,000
Rutherglen	7,500		
Scalloway	100		
Stirling	7,000		£2,479,250

CANADA.

*Berlin, Ont.	\$15,000	*Sherbrooke, Que.	\$15,000
*British Columbia	50,000	*Smith's Falls, Ont.	10,000
*Chatham, Ont.	15,000	*St. Catharines, Ont.	20,000
*Collingwood, Ont.	12,500	*St. John, N.B.	50,000
*Cornwall, Ont.	7,000	*St. Johns, N.F.	50,000
*Galt, Ont.	17,500	*St. Thomas, Ont.	15,000
*Goderich, Ont.	10,000	*Stratford, Ont.	12,000
*Guelph, Ont.	20,000	*Sydney, N.S.	15,000
*Halifax, N.S.	75,000	*Thorold, Ont.	10,000
*Lindsay, Ont.	10,000	*Vancouver, B.C.	50,000
*London, Ont.	10,000	*Victoria, B.C.	50,000
*Montreal, Que.	150,000	*Windsor, Ont.	20,000
*Ottawa, Ont.	100,000	*Winnipeg, Man.	100,000
*Palmerston, Ont.	6,000	Yarmouth, N.S.	4,000
*Pembroke, Ont.	10,000		
*Sarnia, Ont.	15,000		\$954,000
*Sault Ste Marie, Ont.	10,000		

CUBA.

*Havana	\$250,000
Matanzas	2,000
	<hr/>
	\$252,000

Hague Arbitration Tribunal Library 250,000

TO LIBRARIES.

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UNITED STATES.

A. L. A. Publishing Board	\$100,000	ward Everett Hale Fund	\$1,000
Aberdeen, S.D.	15,000	*Bozeman, Mont.	15,000
Akron, Ohio	70,000	Bradford, Pa.	30,000
*Alameda, Cal.	35,000	Braddock, Pa., Institute	300,000
Albany, N.Y.	175,000	Braddock, Pa., Hospital	100,000
*Albert Lea, Minn.	12,000	Braddock, Pa., Library	200,000
Allegheny, Pa., Carnegie Institute	300,000	*Brazil, Ind.	20,000
Allegheny, Pa., Observatory	20,000	*Brooklyn, N.Y. (Branches)	430,000
*†Allegheny, Pa.	25,000	*Bryan, Tex.	10,000
*Amsterdam, N.Y.	25,000	Bucyrus, Ohio	500
Anamosa, Iowa	10,000	*Burlington, Vt. (Fletcher Free Library)	50,000
Ashtabula, Ohio	15,000	Cambridge, Ohio	18,000
*Athol, Mass.	15,000	*Canandaigua, N.Y.	10,000
*†Atlanta, Ga.	145,000	*Canastota, N.Y.	10,000
*Atlantic, Iowa	12,500	*Canon City, Colo.	10,000
Aurora, Ill.	50,000	*Canton, N.Y.	30,000
Austin, Minn.	12,000	Canton, Ohio	50,000
Austin, Tex.	(?)	Carbondale, Pa.	25,000
*Baraboo, Wis.	12,000	Carnegie, Pa.	210,000
*Beatrice, Neb.	20,000	*Carrollton, Ill.	10,000
*Beaver, Pa.	50,000	Catskill, N.Y.	20,000
Beaver Falls, Pa.	50,000	Cedar Falls, Iowa	15,000
*Bedford, Ind.	15,000	*Cedar Rapids, Iowa	75,000
Bellefonte, Pa., State College	100,000	Centralia, Ill.	25,000
*Beloit, Wis.	25,000	Challanooga, Ga.	15,500
Benton Harbour, Mich.	15,000	*Charleston, Ill.	18,000
*Bessemer, Pa.	30,000	*Charlotte, Mich.	10,000
*Binghampton, N.Y.	75,000	*Charlotte, North Caro.	20,000
Blairsville, Pa.	15,000	*Charlottesville, Va.	15,000
*Bloomington, Ill.	15,000	Chartiers Township, Pa.	20,000
*Bloomington, Ind.	15,000	Chatham, N.Y.	1,500
*Blue Island, Ill.	15,000		
Blue Rapids, Kan.	500		
Boston, Mass., Ed-			

*† Chattanooga, Tenn.	\$50,000	East Orange, N.J.	\$50,000
Cheyene, Wyo.	50,000	Easton, Pa.	50,000
* Chicago Heights, Ill.	10,000	Eastport, Me.	600
Chillicothe, Mo.	25,000	Eau Claire, Wis.	40,000
* Chippewa Falls, Wis.	20,000	* Eldora, Iowa	10,000
* Cincinnati, Ohio	180,000	*† Elkhart, Ind.	40,000
Clarion, Pa.	50,000	* El Paso, Tex.	35,000
* Clinton, Iowa	30,000	* Elwood, Ind.	25,000
Clinton, Mass.	25,000	* Emporia, Kans.	50,000
Clearfield, Pa.	10,000	Eric, Pa.	6,000
*† Cohoes, N.Y.	25,000	* Escanaba, Mich.	20,000
* Columbus, Georgia	25,000	* Estherville, Iowa	10,000
* Columbus, Ind.	15,000	* Euclaire, Wis.	40,000
* Columbus, Ohio	150,000	Eureka, Cal.	20,000
Conneaut, Ohio	100,000	Fairfield, Iowa	40,000
Conneaut, Pa.	15,000	* Fargo, N.D.	20,000
Connellsville, Pa.	57,000	Fayette, Iowa, Upper	
*† Covington, Ky.	110,000	University	225,000
Crawfordsville, Ind.	25,000	* Fon-du-Lac, Wis.	30,000
Crawfordsville, Md.	25,000	Fort Dodge, Iowa	30,000
* Cumberland, Md.	25,000	* Fort Scott, Kans.	50,000
* Dallas, Tex.	51,000	Fort Wayne, Ind.	75,000
* Danville, Ill.	40,000	*† Fort Worth, Tex.	50,000
* Danville, Ind.	10,000	* Freeport, Ill.	30,000
Davenport, Iowa	75,000	* Fremont, Nebr.	15,000
Decatur, Ill.	60,000	Fresno, Cal.	30,000
* Denison, Ia.	10,000	* Fulton Village, N.Y.	15,000
Dennison, Tex.,		* Galesburg, Ill.	50,000
XXI. Club	17,000	* Galion, Ohio	15,000
* Denver, Col.	200,000	* Georgetown, Col.	200,000
* Detroit, Mich.		* Groversville, N.Y.	50,000
(Branches)	750,000	Goshen, Ind.	25,000
* Dillon, Mont.	75,000	* Grand Forks, N.D.	20,000
* Dover, New Hamp-		* Grand Island, Nebr.	20,000
shire	30,000	Grand Junction, Colo.	8,000
* Dubuque, Iowa	60,000	* Great Falls, Mont.	30,000
Duluth, Minn.	50,000	* Green Bay, Wis.	25,000
Duquesne, Pa., Car-		* Green Castle, Ind.	15,000
negie Institute	300,000	* Greensboro, Nth. Caro.	30,000
Duquesne, Pa.	200,000	* Greensburg, Ind.	15,000
* Eagle Grove, Iowa	10,000	Greensburg, Md.	15,000
East Liverpool, Ohio	50,000	Greensburg, Pa.	60,000

TO LIBRARIES.

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*†Greenville, Ohio	\$25,000	*Kalishell, Ohio	\$10,000
Greenville, Pa.	16,000	*Kallispell, Mont.	10,000
*Griffins Corners, N.Y.	5,000	*Kansas City, Kansas	75,000
Grove City, Pa.	30,000	*Kent, Ohio	19,000
*Guthrie, Okla.	50,000	*Kenton, Ohio	17,500
*Hampton, Iowa	10,000	Kewanee, Ill.	20,000
*Hartford City, Ind.	15,000	*Kingston, N.Y.	30,000
Havana, Ill.	8,000	*Knoxville, Pa.	100,000
*Hawarden, Iowa	5,000	*Knoxville, Tenn.	15,000
Hazelwood, Pa.	4,000	*Kohomo, Ind.	25,000
*Helena, Mont.	30,000	*Lake Charles, Iowa	10,000
Hempstead, L.I.	25,000	*Lake Charles, La.	10,000
*Henderson, Ky.	25,000	*Lansing, Mich.	35,000
Hoboken, N.J.		Las Vegas, N.M.	10,000
Stevens Institute	165,000	*Laurel, Md.	10,000
Homestead, Pa.		*Lawrence, Kans.	25,000
Carnegie Institute	300,000	*Leadville, Col.	100,000
Homestead, Pa.	200,000	Leavensworth, Kans.	30,000
Houston, Tex.	50,000	Lewanee, Ill.	50,000
Howell, Mich.	10,000	Lewiston, Me.	50,000
*Huntington, Ind.	25,000	*†Lexington, Ky.	50,000
*Huntington, W. Va.	35,000	Lima, Ohio	50,000
*Hutchinson, Kansas	15,000	Lincoln, Ill.	30,000
*Iowa City, Iowa,		*Lincoln, Nebr.	25,000
Cornell College	40,000	*Little Falls, Minn.	10,000
Iowa City, Iowa	25,000	*Littleton, N.H.	15,000
*Iron Mountain, Mich.	17,500	*Logansport, Ind.	25,000
Ironwood, Mich.	15,000	London, Ohio	10,000
*Islip, N.Y.	10,000	*Lorain, Ohio	30,000
Jackson, Mich.	70,000	*Louisville, Ky.	250,000
Jackson, Tenn.	25,000	Louisville, Ky., Poly-	
*Jacksonville, Fla.	50,000	technic Institute	125,000
Jacksonville, Ill.	40,000	*Los Gatos, Cal.	10,000
Janesville, Wis.	30,000	*Macon, Ga.	20,000
Jefferson City, Mo.	30,000	Madison, Ind.	20,000
Jeffersonville, Fla.	15,000	*Madison, Wis.	75,000
*Jerseyville, Ill.	10,000	Manassas, Va.	21,000
*Johnstown, N.Y.	25,000	*Manchester, Iowa	10,000
Johnstown, P.A.	360,000	*Mankota, Minn.	40,000
Johnstown, P.A., Pen-		*Maquoketa, Iowa	10,000
sion fund	10,000	Marion, Ind.	50,000
*Joplin, Mo.	40,000	*Marion, Ohio	25,000

MR. CARNEGIE'S GIFTS

*Marshalltown, Iowa	\$30,000	New York City, Educational Alliance	\$5,200,000
*Mattoon, Ill.	25,000	*New York City Libraries	25,000
*McKeesport, Pa.	50,000	New York City, Mechanic and Tradesmen's Societies	1,000
*McKee's Rocks, Pa.	20,000	New York City, Montefiore Home	2,000
*Marlboro, Mass.	30,000	New York City, National Temperance Society	1,621
*Mason City, Iowa	25,000	New York City, Pennsylvania Society	5,000
*Melrose, Mass.	25,000	New York City, St. Andrew's Society	100,000
Mentor, Ohio	7,000	New York City, Young Men's Hebrew Association	5,000
Middletown, N.Y., Universal Church	500	New York City, Zoological Society	5,000
*Miles City, Mont.	10,000	*Niagara Falls, N.Y.	50,000
*Mitchell, S. D.	10,000	*Norfolk, Va.	50,000
Moline, Ill.	37,000	*Norristown, Pa.	50,000
*Monroe, Wis.	20,000	North Bessemer, Pa.	12,600
*Montclair, N.J.	30,000	North Bethlehem, Pa.	12,600
Montgomery, Ala.	50,000	*Norwalk, Conn.	50,000
*Mount Clemens, Mich.	15,000	*Nyack, N.Y.	15,000
*Mount Vernon, N.Y.	50,000	*Oakland, Cal.	175,000
Muncie, Ind.	50,000	Oakmont, Pa.	25,000
*Nashville, Tenn.	100,000	Ogden, Utah	25,000
*Neenah, Wis.	10,000	Oil City, Pa.	50,000
*New Albany, Ind.	35,000	*Oklahoma City, Okla.	25,000
*New Brunswick, N.J.	50,500	*Oneida, N.Y.	11,000
*Newcastle, Pa.	40,000	*Oskaloosa, Iowa	20,000
New Haven, Conn., Bushnell Memorial	1,000	*Ottawa, Kans.	15,000
*Newnan, Ga.	10,000	Ottumwa, Iowa	50,000
Newport, Ky.	20,000	Oyster Bay, N.Y.	1,000
*Newport, Ohio	65,000	*Paducah, Ky.	35,000
*New Rochelle, N.Y.	10,000	Paraboo, Wis.	12,000
*Newton, Iowa	10,000	*Paris, Ill.	18,000
*Newton, Kans.	76,000	*Pekin, Ill.	20,000
New York City, Bellevue Medical College	30,000		
New York City, Botanical Society	2,752		
New York City, Caledonia Club	50,000		
New York City, Carnegie Laboratory	600,000		
New York City, Cooper Union	2,500		

TO LIBRARIES.

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Pennsylvania State College	\$100,000
*Pensacola, Fla.	15,000
*Perth Amboy, N.J.	20,000
Peru, Ind.	25,000
*Petersborough, N.H.	5,000
*Petosky, Mich.	12,000
Philadelphia, Pa., University of Pennsylvania	100,000
Phoenixville, Pa.	20,000
Pittsburg, Pa., Carnegie Institute	7,250,000
Pittsburg, Pa., Polytechnic School, endowment	2,000,000
Pittsburg, Pa., Observatory	20,000
Pittsburg, Pa., Relief in 1893	300,000
Pittsburg, Pa., Des- titute Miners	2,000
Pittsburg, Pa., Pen- sion Fund	4,000,000
*†Pittsburg, Pa., (Branches)	300,000
Pittsburg, Pa., Working Men's Hospital	50,000
Pittsburg, Tex.	5,000
*Pittsfield, Mass.	15,000
*Pomona, Cal.	15,000
*Port Huron, Mich.	40,000
*Port Jervis, N.Y.	30,000
Portland, Ind.	15,000
Portland, Cre.	100,000
*Portsmouth, Ohio	50,000
Prescott, Ariz.	4,000
*Pueblo, Colo.	60,000
*Racine, Wis.	50,000
*Redfield, S.D.	10,000
*Redwing, Minn.	15,000

*Reno, Nev.	\$15,000
*Revere, Mass.	20,000
Richmond, Va.	100,000
Richmond, Va., Gin- ter Mechanics' Inst.	1,000
*Ripon, Wis.	10,000
*Riverside, Cal.	20,000
Rockford, Ill.	60,000
*Rockland, Maine	20,000
*Saint Joseph, Mich.	15,000
*Salina, Kans.	15,000
San Antonio, Tex.	50,000
*San Bernardino, N.M.	15,000
San Diego, Cal.	60,000
Sandusky, Ohio	50,000
*Sandy Hill, N.Y.	10,000
*San Francisco, Cal.	750,000
San Jose, Cal.	50,000
San Juan, Porto Rico	150,000
Santa Anna, Cal.	15,000
Santa Anna, Tex.	15,000
*Santa Cruz, Cal.	15,000
*Santa Rosa, Cal.	20,000
*Saratoga, N.Y.	10,000
*Saratoga Springs, N.Y.	20,000
Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.	30,000
Schenectady, N.Y.	50,000
Schenectady, N.Y., Union College	45,000
Seaboard Air Line, Railroad Library	2,000
*†Sedalia, Mo.	50,000
Seattle, Wash.	200,000
Sharon, Pa.	300,000
Sharon, Pa., Organ, Presbyterian Ch.	5,000
*Sheboygan, Mich.	35,000
*Shelbyville, Ind.	20,000
*Shelbyville, Ky.	10,000
Sheridanville, Pa.	1,000
*Somersworth, N.H.	15,000
*Southbridge, Mass.	20,000

MR. CARNEGIE'S GIFTS.

*Sparta, Wis.	\$10,000	Wabash, Ind.	\$20,000
Sioux Falls, S.D.	25,000	*Walpole, Mass.	15,000
*South Omaha, Neb.	60,000	Washington City,	
*South St. Joseph,		Ohio,	12,000
Missouri	(?)	*Washington, D.C.	350,000
Springfield, Ill.,		Washington, D.C.	
Lincoln Library	75,000	National	
Springfield, Mo.	50,000	University	10,000,000
Stapleton, N. Y., Sta-		*Washington, Ind.	25,000
ten Island Academy	500	*Washington, Ohio	12,000
*Stevens Point, Wis.	20,000	*Waterloo, Iowa	30,000
Steubenville, Ohio,	62,000	*Waterville, Maine	20,000
*Stillwater, Minn.	25,000	*Watervliet, N. Y.	20,000
St. Cloud, Minn.	25,000	Waukegan, Ill.	25,000
St. George, S. J., Sta-		*Waukesha, Wis.	15,000
ten Island Academy	1,000	*Wellington, Ohio	10,000
St. Louis, Mo.	1,000,000	*West Hoboken, N. J.	25,000
Streater, Ill.	35,000	*West Superior, Wis.	50,000
Superior, Wis.	50,000	Whelling, W. Va.	75,000
*Swissvale, Pa.	25,000	Wilksburg, Pa.	50,000
Syracuse, N. Y.	200,000	Wilmington, Ohio	10,000
Tacoma, Wash.	75,000	*Winfield, Kans.	15,000
*Tampa, Fla.	25,000	Wooster, Ohio, Uni-	
*Taunton, Mass.	60,000	versity	100,000
*Temple, Tex.	10,000	*Xenia, Ohio	20,000
Three Rivers, Mich.	10,000	*Yankton, S.D.	10,000
Tipton, Indiana	10,000	Yonkers, N. Y.	50,000
*Tipton, Iowa	10,000	York, Pa.	50,000
Tucson, Ariz.	25,000		
Tuskegee, Ala.,		Endowment fund	
Tuskegee Institute	25,000	(Braddock, Pa.;	
Tyrone, Pa.	50,000	Duquesne, Pa.;	
Unionport, Pa.	50,000	Homestead, Pa.)	1,000,000
Uniontown, Pa.	50,000	Miscellaneous gifts,	
*Valley City, N.D.	15,000	United States	4,000,000
Virginia, Mechanics'			
Institute	1,000		
			\$212,882,173

